Periodical

THE CRISIS

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(Signed) R. W. Lomax, M.D.

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The Crisis

A Record of the Darker Races

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FEBRUARY, 1927

THE CRISIS MAGAZINE: Published monthly and copyrighted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Conducted by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois; Jessie Redmon Fauset, Contributing Editor; Augustus Granville Dill, Business Manager. 15 cents a copy, $1.50 a year. Foreign subscriptions $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage and while THE CRISIS uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

For March

THE CRISIS in a new form; Jones' annual survey of Negro football; Miss Ovington on revisiting the South; a survey of the sororities and fraternities; new news and editorial features.

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THE CRISIS

Vol. 33, No. 4 FEBRUARY, 1927 Whole No. 196

OPINION of W. E. B. DU BOIS

"SCIENCE"

DR. N. M. HIRSH, "former Fellow of the National Research Council", has made an astounding discovery. By testing 5,500 New England school children he finds that Negroes and Portuguese have the least intelligence. And then he adds blithely, "The children tested were all attending public schools in four factory towns of Massachusetts, *with the exception of 449 Negro children from Tennessee*"!

One-fourth of the Negroes of Tennessee are illiterate and the State spends less than five dollars a head each year in training colored children. Massachusetts spends seven times this amount on her children, but the poor Portuguese who are recent immigrants have had scant chance to take advantage of it. As a scientist, Mr. Hirsh deserves to be classed with Frederick L. Hoffman.

WAR

THE LAND HOGS and war profiteers are pushing us into war with Mexico just as fast as they can, with the help of a President who is the tool of Big Business and of a Secretary of State who is a misfortune. We are meddling in Nicaragua and sending there a man trained to drill midshipmen and steer ships and shoot guns, whom we install as dictator without the grace of God. Now is the time for pacifists to act. Now and not later. Now is the time to say to America that not a gallon of oil nor a foot of land is worth the murder of a single human being, whether from Mexico or black or white America. Diaz and rich Americans cheated Mexico of her wealth while her people slept and we are asked to enforce these disgraceful contracts with blood and filth and war. Let us resolve never to do it. Let us face death, jail and poverty before war with Mexico on any pretext. We have stolen enough from that poor land.

"A HARMLESS FLOURISH"

SENATOR HARRIS OF Georgia is pained because of the sale of Federal offices in that State. He wants the matter investigated. Senator Ernst of Kentucky proposed to add to this an investigation of disfranchisement in Georgia. Whereupon the bourbon *New York Times* is aghast. Evidently Mr. Ernst's proposal is "politics to catch the Negro vote". It undoubtedly is. And why shouldn't it be? Why should the rotten boroughs of Georgia, by wholesale disfranchisement of black and white voters, make bribery and graft in national politics almost unavoidable and then be allowed to yell "Force Bill!" if any proposal is made to investigate the situation? Georgia casts less than 12,000 votes for a congressman, while in New York it takes over 60,000. Less than ten per cent of Georgia's voting population actually votes. And yet to a leading American newspaper it is a political joke to investigate

this, while the sale of a petty post office job is a high crime and misdemeanor.

Of course Federal offices are sold in Georgia; of course they are sold in Virginia, as President Coolidge's first Private Secretary can testify; of course Federal offices are bought in Pennsylvania and Illinois. And why? Does the fact that a southern voter has seven times the political power of a western voter play no part?

SUMNER AND SUFFRAGE

My Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Will you kindly ask Mr. Borah to quote to you, or in some way to make public, the exact words which in his article in the January 1927 issue of THE CRISIS he paraphrases? He says: "Charles Sumner declared that to enfranchise this uneducated mass was foreign to his convictions and to his whole habit of thought but that politics required it."

The context of this passage showed that by "this mass" Mr. Borah intends to convey the idea that Mr. Sumner referred to the mass of freedmen.

I remember much about Mr. Sumner's course in the Reconstruction period. I have since read almost every address he ever made on questions which would lead to speech on the Negro and which are given in the many volumes of his published orations. I do not remember one utterance of his which could bear the construction which Mr. Borah puts upon whatever words of Sumner's to which he here refers. Mr. Sumner may have said that circumstances required the grant of suffrage to the freedmen. I am sure that he never used the word "politics" with the significance which Mr. Borah infuses into it when he was giving the reason for enfranchising the freedmen. All the surrounding text in Mr. Borah's article shows that by "politics" he means selfish, if not exactly dishonorable motives and action.

There is much that could be quoted directly from Mr. Sumner which entirely contradicts Mr. Borah's interpretation of the Senator's views and principles.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed)

LILLIE BUFFUM CHASE WYMAN.

LYNCHING

THERE WERE THIRTY-FOUR lynchings in the United States in 1926, nearly twice as many as in 1925.

There is no doubt as to the reason of the increase. The fear of the Dyer Bill has been removed from the minds of the murderers. This is but a louder call for Federal legislation. There is no civilized country on earth which would allow in one year thirty-four mob murders to occur without even investigation in most cases and in no case with adequate attempt at punishment. Even the recent imprisonment of Georgia lynchers is not a real case in point, because the man lynched was white. If he had been a Negro these lynchers in all probability would have gone scot-free.

The Nation, therefore, is fronted by a situation. Certain parts of the land are so dominated by their uncivilized elements that they cannot punish murder. There never was any excuse for lynching in group hysteria from "unusual" crime but today this is not even alleged. The case is simply, as in Aiken, the inability of the law to function. What shall a nation do in such case? Sit still and recount the certainly encouraging fact that at least the newspapers are "speaking out"? Or see that the strong hand of the Federal government falls upon the community that will not or cannot punish mob murder?

Senator Borah writes to warn us that the Dyer Bill was only a political trick and hopelessly unconstitutional.

Very good. Why do not Senator Borah and the other decent men in Congress unite to frame a bill that will be constitutional? It is sheer nonsense to allege that a great country like the United States cannot stop wholesale murder because of petty legal technicalities.

LEST WE FORGET

WE PICTURE IN our columns the fine bust of the late John E. Milholland, the friend of the oppressed of all peoples and one of the most effective of the founders of the N. A. A. C. P. He is dead. Unless we bestir ourselves, a generation of Negroes will live without knowing the magic of his name and work. Unless we remember, young eager folk will lightly assume in 2010 that it was an easy, costless thing in 1910 to defend Negro suffrage and propose a paid, permanent office staff for the radical Negro Conference which had been making and passing resolutions. Lest we forget, the N. A. A. C. P. is going to keep the memory of John Milholland. We ask subscriptions of $250 to place a replica of this life-size bronze bust in the New York office of our organization. Already eighty dollars of this have been subscribed. Will you send your donation now?

BRONZE BUST OF THE LATE JOHN E. MILHOLLAND

A committee in Washington under

the chairmanship of Mr. Emmett Scott is going to raise $250 and place a similar bust in Howard University. A third committee to be organized by Mr. Leslie P. Hill is going to place a bust at Cheyney. We are hoping to have a fourth bust at Fisk. Let our race never be accused of forgetting its friends or of letting its children forget the bitter path up which we climbed yesterday.

THE AGE AND THE TRIBUNE

THE NEW YORK AGE has celebrated its 40th anniversary and *The Philadelphia Tribune* its 42d. We think of our periodicals as new and recent growths and most of them are. All the more honor then to those editors and publishers who began back in the day when the support of a Negro paper was almost unheard of and battled through for a generation. Such an accomplishment ought to insure these surviving periodicals a long and prosperous life.

THE GRAPHIC

THE NEW YORK GRAPHIC, one of the Macfadden publications, has been for some time writing up the different racial groups which compose the city of New York, telling of their history, difficulties and ideals. This year it is publishing a series of articles on the Negro. The significance of these articles lies not so much in what they say as in the fact that one of the most popular of popular tabloids thinks it is worth while to write about the Negro. Twenty-five years ago if a daily paper could have been induced to handle this subject the articles would have been filled with ridicule, lies and attempts to be funny. Today, the Negro demands serious and sympathetic attention in the leading city of the land. The moral is obvious.

OPTIMISM

NOTHING IS MORE dangerous than unintelligent optimism, childish faith in the triumph of good, the "God's-in-His-heaven" attitude assumed because one is too lazy to be worried. On the other hand, the worst moral dyspepsia must face facts; and looking back on the history of the Negro race in America for the last few years one cannot help feeling a sense of tremendous encouragement.

The legal defense of black men instead of being sporadic and occasional is taking definite, determined form and it is becoming increasingly difficult to cheat and oppress and mob colored people simply because they are colored.

But this, after all, is merely negative. Yet on the positive side there is even greater cause for self-congratulation. There is a new self-assertion which is not merely empty impudence. Quietly and unswervingly Negroes have laid down the law that their higher institutions of learning can no longer be run regardless of colored folks' ideals and desires. Again Negroes have begun to undertake their own self-interpretation and are no longer content merely to sit by, smiling delightedly when some white outsider carelessly evaluates their history, their songs, their hopes, their personal appearance.

Following a rather sudden, almost hysterical renaissance of art among them, there is slowly coming a determined Will-to-Create. Self-expression wells up among us. Even though it is not all of the highest order and often lacks careful finish, it is nevertheless a true and sincere mirroring of new souls and valuable because of its sincerity and newness.

In the economic field one senses in every part of the country better home life, larger incomes and more careful spending. The old ideal of imitating the extravagance of the rich whites has not altogether passed but it is evidently passing. One finds little homes of cultured colored folk

who are quite willing to admit that they are living on one hundred dollars a month and really living. Children are crowding into high schools and colleges not simply because it is the thing to do, but because their parents are getting clear ideas of just what education is for. There is a small new army of colored artisans who know the technique of their work and the labor movement. And finally, in the dull brain of white America, it is beginning to become clearly evident that the most virile future force in this land, certainly in art, probably in economics and possibly in science, is the Negro.

NATIONAL EDUCATION

Dear Mr. Madden:—

The estimates of the Director of the Budget now before your honorable body contain such pronounced discriminations against our colored schools that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is forced to ask relief from Congress.

In the allotments for new buildings and grounds the colored people are given but $525,000 out of a total of $3,750,000. In addition we are given two small parcels of play space for graded schools for which no sums are named. In the aggregate the colored schools, already far behind the white in physical equipment due to accumulated shortages in appropriations, will receive but fifteen per cent of the appropriation for next year when we are nearly one-third of the total school population and attendance. The long-neglected Negro portion of the system stands to lose some four hundred thousand dollars for next year if these estimates are allowed to stand.

There are numberless needs in the colored schools, many of them to which the school authorities stand committed, namely, the removal of the unsightly huts around our Armstrong Technical High School which give it no play space at all and the purchase of additional land for the Dunbar High School and the erection of a stadium thereon. All of our white high schools begin with facilities in every detail such as our colored schools have not acquired through years of appeal and proof of their need. All of them have stadiums, tennis courts, running tracks and placement within reach of their constituencies without the added educational costs of car-fare. Colored high schools have none of these tremendous advantages.

There are many needs in our graded schools and in the Miner Normal school (this latter with an enrollment larger than that of the white normal school), which could more than absorb the $400,000 which the estimates deny us. . . .

Very truly yours,
District of Columbia Branch,
N. A. A. C. P.
(Signed) NEVAL H. THOMAS.

"He Knows Life"

FRANK HORNE

"HE knows Life . . ."
They said—
And I went up
and opened the book of life.
There on the first line
Was written in what he knows
of life—
And on that first page
Were a million other lines
And in that book
Were a myriad other pages
and the press of life
Was busy with new leaves
And yet
"He knows Life . . ."
They said.

The Business of Banking Among Negroes

HARRY H. PACE

President of the Northeastern Life Insurance Company

W. Lovett L. Williams J. Binga M. Walker A. Overton J. Hawkins

ONE Saturday night not long ago I stood at the corner of 135th Street and Seventh Avenue and watched for over a half hour the formation of the 8:30 P. M. line of 86 savings depositors, by actual count, that formed and twisted and then doubled on itself around the corner into 135th Street, to await the opening of the doors of a local bank so that they might make their weekly deposit.

A day or two later I went into the College Station post office that serves colored Harlem and the lobby recently twice enlarged was a seething mass of colored folk who waited patiently in line to reach the Postal Savings window.

There was not a white depositor in either line and when they reached the windows they were waited on in both places by white clerks!

Both scenes were symbolic of what goes on in every Negro community. The Negro goes forth to work and brings home the fruit of his labor to turn over into the keeping of white hands.

I once asked the manager of a large bank in a colored community: "How much money have colored people put in your bank?" He picked up a financial statement of the bank. "Last night," he said, "we had several million dollars on deposit. I estimate that Negroes brought into this community 75 per cent of that money, but most of it is in this bank in the name of the white merchants with whom they trade."

The two things seem contradictory. Both happened in the same community. But they are both true and the duplicate of both scenes and statements is true in nearly every large community both North and South.

Down in a large North Carolina town it was such a line as this that caused the most popular white bank in town to organize a Jim Crow bank, the first and only real one that I ever heard of, where colored folk could deposit and cash checks. Negroes were actually not accommodated at the main bank and if they had a check on it they had to take it to the separate institution to be cashed.

Largely because of various forms of discrimination Negroes have gone into the banking business. In some other communities the discrimination takes another and a more serious form. In many communities Negroes are encouraged to save and to deposit in white banks, but it is practically imposible for any colored man to obtain a loan except at an increased interest rate amounting to usury and under conditions that force many to go without the proposed loan. In fairness, however, it ought to be said that many white banks even in the South have been extremely lenient in the making of loans to colored people. In this respect the banks have been much more fair than the insurance companies.

It should also be stated that many Negro banks report that those members of the race who borrow from white banks are more careful of their credit and meet their agreed payments much more punctually in a white bank than they do when dealing with their own institutions.

In preparing this article I sent out a

questionnaire to 70 Negro banks reported in the Negro Year Book. Only 10 replied, sending the last printed statement as requested. Condensed information was found of 29 others in Polk's Directory of Banks, in the Blue Book and in recent reports to Banking Departments. The results tabulated below are therefore of 39 institutions instead of 70 reported as being in existence. This fact must be kept in mind in considering the following statement.

Consolidated Statement of 39 Negro Banks

RESOURCES

Loans and Discounts	$ 8,300,965
U. S. Bonds and Stocks owned	1,953,964
Banking House, Furniture and Fixtures	755,356
Other Real Estate owned	593,199
Accrued Interest	10,841
Cash and Due from Banks	2,331,034
Other Resources	632,273
Total Resources	$14,577,632

LIABILITIES

Capital Stock Paid In	$ 2,189,662
Surplus	315,182
Undivided Profits	75,582
Dividends Unpaid	3,383
Reserved for Interest or Taxes	67,083
Bills Payable	579,673
Total Deposits	11,028,362
Other Liabilities	318,705
Total Liabilities	$14,577,632

The figures are not as impressive as they should be. They are appalling. There are a hundred white banks in as many first class cities each of whose assets and liabilities separately are more than the combined total of the 39. But the fact that Negroes have on deposit in their own banks eleven millions of dollars is worthy of comment. It speaks volumes for the aggressiveness and enterprise and honesty of the men who are building these institutions that the rank and file have trusted them with this amount.

But this is by no means all the money that Negroes have on deposit in banks. If the truth were known it would probably be found that this is about 10 per cent of the whole. The real amount is nearer one hundred million than any other figure. Even in cities where there are Negro banks they do not receive whole-hearted support. Certainly in those cities of large population where no banks of the race exist there would be an equally large amount in banks to the credit of our group. An effort was made to ascertain from the large savings banks in New York City some idea of their colored depositors. Institutions like the Bowery and the Emigrant Industrial cheerfully replied, but border institutions on 125th Street where at least fifty per cent of the persons going in and coming out are colored refused point blank any information. Yet these two savings banks on 125th Street make each depositor state his "Race" on the signature card before he opens his account.

In the Union Dime Savings Bank and the Union Square Savings Bank Negroes have deposited for years and years. The savings balances in these two banks alone to the credit of colored depositors must easily reach a million dollars. There are three large secret orders in New York City whose combined cash balance is regularly over $60,000. Two large beneficial societies each have over $50,000 in banks and have had such balances for years.

And Negro bankers on the whole have been eminently trustworthy. They have gone into a business that is highly technical and that demands training for success; that demands the exercise of care and caution and the power of executive decision and they have generally made good. There are very few cases on record of actual defalcation of cashiers or tellers or bookkeepers of Negro banks, while your daily paper will give an instance almost every morning of defalcation on the part of some white employee.

In like manner the percentage of failures among Negro banks has been surprisingly small. The most conspicuous examples of failures have been among private banks, whose operations were not supervised by the Banking Departments and whose owners and managers had plunged into real estate ownership and operation contrary to all the laws of sound banking.

The study of one state, Virginia, in which a larger number of colored banks has been established than perhaps in any other state, shows a total number of 16 banks existing or having existed. Of this number 5 failed, two were absorbed and 9 exist today. One of these five was the nationally known True Reformers Bank, whose failure it was thought would affect Negro confidence in banks for a generation. Another institution, the Mechanics Savings Bank, almost as well known, through the personality of

its president, John Mitchell, Jr., closed its doors after a controversy between Mitchell and the Banking Division over the question of interest on a choice piece of Broad Street theatre property that Mitchell had acquired for the Bank. Down in Portsmouth the Mutual Savings Bank closed its doors in 1922 following the shutting down of the Government Navy Yard throwing thousands of colored wage earners out of employment with a resultant heavy withdrawal of savings from the bank. During the same period the Tidewater Bank and Trust Company of Norfolk was very sensibly taken over by the Metropolitan Bank and Trust Company, whose officers were far sighted enough to see the effect a failure would have had on them. During this same period, while two Negro banks failed, seven white banks were closed and five others were consolidated into other institutions. Notwithstanding the larger number of white banks the showing is not so bad as it might seem for our own institutions. Meanwhile in Richmond, where two bank failures have taken place, there are three substantial progressive banks today each steadily increasing in deposits and service to the community.

One of these banks enjoys the unique distinction of having a woman, Mrs. Maggie L. Walker, as its president. Besides being the Right Worthy Grand Scribe of the Independent Order of St. Luke, with which the bank itself is affiliated, Mrs. Walker has presided over the destinies of the St. Luke's bank ever since its establishment and she is the earliest authentic case of a woman bank president. The other two banks are affiliated with insurance companies giving them a measure of stability and permanence that is helpful in gaining confidence.

In Norfolk stands the Metropolitan Bank and Trust Company with assets of $814,736. The Metropolitan is the successful outgrowth of one of the two banks established by E. C. Brown prior to his removal to Philadelphia. Mr. Brown had had no connection with this bank for many years. Over in Newport News, another former Brown institution absorbed a smaller bank of the Sons and Daughters of Peace, Penny, Nickel and Dime Savings Bank. That title sounds like a Cohen story but it was the actual name of the bank. Years before at Hampton, Virginia, another bank with a long name, The Grand United Order of Galilean Fishermen's Bank, went out of business.

For many years during the period between 1900 and 1910 the State of Mississippi had the largest number of banks, the reason being that there were practically no legal requirements to be met to open a bank. Every secret society had its bank and there were banks with impossible names like "The Knights and Ladies of Honor of the World Bank", long since discontinued. When the State of Mississippi passed rigid banking laws most of these institutions closed up. Some of them achieved more than local fame because of the dominant personalities around whom they were built. The Bank of Mound Bayou was at one time perhaps the best known Negro bank in America because of the fame of the late Charles Banks, its cashier and the late Isaiah T. Montgomery, its president, and because Mound Bayou was and is an exclusively Negro town. This bank has been reorganized as the Mound Bayou State Bank. In Mississippi only two banks exist today.

Birmingham, Alabama, achieved the most widely known bank of its period in the Alabama Penny Savings Bank, with branches at Selma and Montgomery. After absorbing a rival bank, The Prudential, the Penny Bank of which Dr. W. R. Pettiford was founder and president was caught in the backwash of steel and mining unemployment troubles and went out of business in 1915, after an existence of 25 years.

But it was not until banks began to be established as purely commercial propositions on a "sink or swim" basis without any entanglements or affiliations that the business settled down and crystallized into the successful phase of our racial life that it is today. The most notable successes have been made by those institutions whose management has realized that banking is a business in itself and that a bank is a jealous mistress who demands all of one's attention.

In point of size of assets the following banks are according to the latest information available to me the first dozen institutions of the race:

Established	Name and City	Assets
1908	Binga State Bank, Chicago, Ill.	$1,827,025.00
1922	Douglas National Bank, Chicago, Ill.	1,490,000.00
1900	Wage Earners Savings Bank, Savannah, Ga.	1,305,988.00

1906	Solvent Savings Bank & Trust Co., Memphis, Tenn.	1,032,000.00
1909	Metropolitan Bank & Trust Co., Norfolk, Va.	814,736.00
1908	Mechanics & Farmers Bank, Durham, N. C.	790,941.00
1921	First Standard Bank, Louisville, Ky.	657,464.00
1913	Industrial Savings Bank, Washington, D. C.	569,537.00
1915	Savannah Savings & Real Estate Corp., Savannah, Ga.	540,902.00
1923	Fraternal Bank & Trust Co., Fort Worth, Texas	532,000.00
1923	Prudential Bank, Washington, D. C.	462,101.00
1920	Commercial Bank & Trust Co., Richmond, Va.	415,235.00

It will be noted that there are four banks in the millionaire class and that the two leaders are both in the progressive South Side community of Chicago. The noticeable thing about our banks is that almost every city that has any bank at all has more than one. And the sad thing is that New York with the largest colored population in America has none, notwithstanding the fact that Banking Commissioner McLaughlin in 1922 practically urged a progressive group of Negro business men to apply for a charter for a State Bank, which he was willing to grant.

As to location, cities having more than one bank together with the Census Bureau estimated Negro population for 1923 are as follows:

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	153,612	2
Chicago, Illinois	136,396	2
Washington, D. C.	110,711	2
Memphis, Tennessee	62,234	2
Richmond, Virginia	54,765	3
Savannah, Georgia	41,179	3
Louisville, Kentucky	40,686	2
Nashville, Tennessee	35,292	2
Macon, Georgia	24,385	2
Winston-Salem, North Carolina	20,735	2
Kinston, North Carolina	4,011	2
Boley, Oklahoma	2,000	2

There are two National Banks, one in the colored town of Boley, Oklahoma, The First National Bank; and the other in Chicago, the Douglas National Bank, while the Prudential Bank and the Industrial Savings Bank at Washington, D. C., are both classed as National Banks, being organized under Federal laws and being under Government supervision the same as National Banks.

One bank is connected with an educational institution, the Tuskegee Institute Savings Bank, and it has encouraged thrift and enterprise among both teachers and students.

The Mechanics and Farmers Bank of Durham, North Carolina, is perhaps the only Negro bank operating a branch bank in another city. This bank not only absorbed another bank in its home city of Durham but extended its operations to its neighboring city of Raleigh. This bank is a strong unit in the chain of sound financial institutions centering around the North Carolina Life Insurance group at Durham and is presided over by C. C. Spaulding. The Second Street Savings Bank at Richmond operates a branch bank in South Richmond.

In the million dollar class are two banks worthy of especial mention. One of these, the Solvent Savings Bank & Trust Co., of Memphis, Tennessee, was established by the late R. R. Church, Sr., and in a city with no particular note for thrift it has grown in 20 years to a position of leadership in its field. It was the first institution of the race to attain a million dollars of assets.

The Wage Earners Savings Bank of Savannah, Georgia, under the guidance of Lucius E. Williams is the other institution which for many years exceeded every other Negro bank in deposits. It was the first bank of the race to have a million dollars on deposit and only the migration enabled the two Chicago institutions to snatch its leadership away. The Wage Earners with depositors in almost every state has probably helped more Negro business ventures to success than any other Negro bank.

The Citizens Bank & Trust Company of Nashville, Tennessee, started out in life away back in 1903 as the "One Cent Savings Bank", under the late lamented R. H. Boyd as president and the Hon. J. C. Napier as cashier. Mr. Napier is still cashier while Rev. Henry Allen Boyd, illustrious son of his noted father, is president. Mr. Napier was formerly Register of the United States Treasury.

Almost every one of these banks has been successful from the point of view of making money for their stockholders and almost every one of them is paying dividends to their stockholders and have been for some time. With proper support they would be stronger and more profitable. If our business institutions, churches, lodges and individuals of large means supported them to even one half of their ability to do so, we

should have instead of eleven millions of deposits a sum closer to fifty millions. The dollar-power of the race will never be made to work for the race until this is done. When the Negro begins to control his money and to be able to direct its use he will achieve an economic independence that to date has never yet been his. And it is not so much a matter of fear of the safety of the colored bank as it is indifference to the need of a big racial financial program that retards this growth.

Only two cities in the North, Chicago and Philadelphia, have caught the real bank spirit. Jesse Binga of Chicago wrung success out of opposition, almost single-handed and alone, with his private bank which he subsequently converted into the sound Binga State Bank of today, with an affiliated membership in the Chicago Clearing House.

Anthony Overton had been an eminently successful business man with his hygienic products long before he entered the banking and insurance business.

But Philadelphia shows a racial confidence that is inspiring. In the face of the far-reaching Brown & Stevens private bank failure of two years ago, Major Richard R. Wright, virile and active, despite his nearly four score years, immediately thereafter raised a capital of $125,000 to convert his private bank into a State-supervised Trust Company. It is such accomplishments as this that should thrill younger men, whining for a chance, into a concert of energetic activity that would bring to the race the new program of Co-operation that needs to be taught.

Of the $8,300,000 outstanding in loans by this group, almost every dollar is loaned to our own people. If this sum is turned over even twice a year it can easily be seen how much good these institutions are accomplishing. They are saving Negro homes from mortgage foreclosure, helping parents send boys and girls to college, fostering and encouraging business enterprises among us, furnishing employment to hundreds of young men and young women of business ability and inculcating habits of thrift without which no race can long endure.

The presidents of these institutions are men who have been chosen for their rigid integrity and standing in their communities. A list of them reads like a page from a Negro Who's Who. Here are a few of them:

Anthony Overton, Chicago, Ill.
John R. Hawkins, Washington, D. C.
Jesse Binga, Chicago, Ill.
Henry Allen Boyd, Nashville, Tenn.
William Rich, Norfolk, Va.
Wilson Lovett, Louisville, Ky.
Walter S. Scott, Savannah, Ga.
Thomas H. Hayes, Memphis, Tenn.
C. C. Spaulding, Durham, N. C.
Lucius E. Williams, Savannah, Ga.
Major R. R. Wright, Philadelphia, Pa.
J. C. Asbury, Philadelphia, Pa.
James T. Carter, Richmond, Va.
R. L. Smith, Waco, Texas.
Mrs. Maggie L. Walker, Richmond, Va.
Bishop R. S. Williams, Augusta, Ga.
E. M. Griggs, Palestine, Texas.
Walter S. Carter, Washington, D. C.

These men and this woman deserve support. They are business builders and pioneers. If the Negroes in the communities where these banks are located hold up their hands they will be providing a reservoir of capital that the race must have if it is to progress. And these banks are as close to each of us as the nearest mail box. Pick out one of them and open an account by mail. What a wonderful thing it would be if the twelve million people of our race gave to these banks even one half the support that they deserve!

W. Carpenter W. Carter H. Boyd W. Scott R. Smith R. Wright, Sr.

Judging Russia

W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS

THERE is no question but that a government can carry on business. Every government does. Whether governmental industry compares in efficiency with private industry depends entirely upon what we call efficiency. And here it is and not elsewhere that the Russian experiment is astonishing and new and of fateful importance to the future civilization. What we call efficiency in America is judged primarily by the resultant profit to the rich and only secondarily by the results to the workers. The face of industrial Europe and America is set toward private wealth; that is, toward the people who have large incomes. We recognize the economic value of small incomes mainly as a means of profit for great incomes. Russia seeks another psychology. Russia is trying to make the workingman the main object of industry. His well-being and his income are deliberately set as the chief ends of organized industry directed by the state.

One can stand on the streets of Moscow or Kiev and see clearly that Russia has struck at the citadels of the power that rules modern countries. Not manhood suffrage, woman's suffrage, state regulation of industry, social reform nor religious and moral teaching in any modern country have shorn organized wealth of its power as the Bolshevik Revolution has done in Russia. Is it possible to conduct a great modern government without the autocratic leadership of the rich? The answer is: this is exactly what Russia is doing today. But can she continue to do this? This is not a question of ethics or economics; it is a question of psychology. Can Russia continue to think of the State in terms of the worker? This can happen only if the Russian people believe and idealize the workingman as the chief citizen. In America we do not. The ideal of every American is the millionaire—or at least the man of "independent" income. We regard the laborers as the unfortunate part of the community and even liberal thought is directed toward "emancipating" the workingman by relieving him in part if not entirely of the necessity of work. Russia, on the contrary, is seeking to make a nation believe that work and work that is hard and in some respects disagreeable and work which is to a large extent physical is a necessity of human life at present and likely to be in any conceivable future world; that the people who do this work are the ones who should determine how the national income from their combined efforts should be distributed; in fine, that the Workingman is the State; that he makes civilization possible and should determine what civilization is to be.

For this purpose he must be a workingman of skill and intelligence and to this combined end Russian education is being organized. This is what the Russian Dictatorship of the Proletariat means. This dictatorship does not stop there. As the workingman is today neither skilled nor intelligent to any such extent as his responsibilities demand, there is within his ranks the Communist party, directing the proletariat toward their future dictatorship. This is nothing new. In this government "of the people" we have elaborate and many-sided arrangements for ruling the rulers. The test is, are we and Russia really preparing future rulers? In so far as I could see, in shop and school, in the press and on the radio, in books and lectures, in trades unions and National Congresses, Russia is. We are not.

Visioning now a real Dictatorship of the Proletariat, two questions follow. Is it possible today for a great nation to achieve such a workers' psychology? And secondly, if it does achieve it what will be its effect upon the world? The achievement of such a psychology depends partly upon Russia and partly upon Western Europe and the United States. In Russia one feels today, even on a casual visit, the beginning of a workingman's psychology. Workers are the people that fill the streets and live in the best houses, even though these houses are dilapidated; workers crowd (literally crowd) the museums and theaters, hold the high offices, do the public talking, travel in the trains.

Nowhere in modern lands can one see less of the spender and the consumer, the rich owners and buyers of luxuries, the institutions which cater to the idle rich. One sees in Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev neither first-class hotels, nor luxurious restaurants, nor private motor cars, nor

silk stockings, nor prostitutes. All these insignia of the great modern city are lacking. On the other hand, the traveler misses the courtesy and *savoir faire* which one meets in the hotel corridors of London and Paris; one misses the smart shops and well-groomed men and women who are so plentiful in Constantinople and Berlin. Does this mean that Russia has "put over" her new psychology? Not by any means. She is trying and trying hard, but there are plenty of people in Russia who still hate and despise the workingman's blouses and the peasant's straw shoes; and plenty of workers who regret the passing of the free-handed Russian nobility; who miss the splendid pageantry of the Czars and who cling doggedly to religious dogma and superstition. There must be in Russia dishonest officials and inefficient statesmen. But here Russia has no monopoly. There are those in Russia and out who say that the present effort cannot succeed for exactly the same reasons that men said the Bourgeoisie could never rule France.

But it is the organized capital of America, England, France and Germany which is chiefly instrumental in preventing the realization of the Russian workingman's psychology. It has used every modern weapon to crush Russia. It sent against Russia every scoundrel who could lead a mob and gave him money, guns and ammunition; and when Russia nearly committed suicide in crushing this civil war, modern industry began the industrial boycott, the refusal of capital and credit which is being carried on today just as far as international jealousy and greed will allow. And can we wonder? If modern capital is owned by the rich and handled for their power and benefit, can the rich be expected to hand it over to their avowed and actual enemies? On the contrary, if modern industry is really for the benefit of the people and if there is an effort to make the people the chief beneficiaries of industry, why is it that this same people is powerless today to help this experiment or at least to give it a clear way? On the other hand, so long as the most powerful nations in the world are determined that Russia must fail, there can be but a minimum of free discussion and democratic difference of opinion in Russia.

There is world struggle then in and about Russia; but it is not simply an ethical problem as to whether or not the Russian Revolution was morally right; that is a question which only history will settle. It is not simply the economic question as to whether or not Russia can conduct industry on a national scale. She is doing it today and in so doing she differs only in quantity, not in quality from every other modern country. It is not a question merely of "dictatorship". We are all subject to this form of government. The real Russian question is: Can you make the worker and not the millionaire the center of modern power and culture? If you can, the Russian Revolution will sweep the world.

The Bird in the Cage

EFFIE LEE NEWSOME

This poem received Honorable Mention in THE CRISIS *Prize contest of 1926.*

I AM not better than my brother over the way,
But he has a bird in the cage and I have not.
It beats its little fretted green wings
Against the wires of its prison all day long.
Backward and forward it leaps,
While summer air is tender and the shadows of leaves
Rock on the ground,
And the earth is cool and heated in spots,
And the air from rich herbage rises teeming,
And gold of suns spills all around,
And birds within the maples
And birds upon the oaks fly and sing and flutter.
And there is that little green prisoner,
Tossing its body forward and up,
Backward and forth mechanically!
I listen for its hungry little song,
Which comes unsatisfying,
Like drops of dew dispelled by drought.
O, rose bud doomed to ripen in a bud vase!
O, bird of song within that binding cage!
Nay, I am not better than my brother over the way,
Only he has a bird in a cage and I have not.

Krigwa, 1927

THE Editor of THE CRISIS MAGAZINE takes pleasure in announcing prizes in Literature and Art for the year 1927 to the aggregate amount of two thousand and thirty-five dollars ($2035). The money for these prizes has been furnished by the following persons and organizations:

Mrs. Amy E. Spingarn	$ 600
Mrs. E. R. Mathews	125
Carl Brandt	100
Empire State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs	100
Eight Colored Banks	400
Five Colored Insurance Companies	360
Total	$1685
The Charles Waddell Chesnutt Honorarium	$ 350
Grand Total	$2035

The sum of $1685 will be distributed for stories, plays, poetry, essays, songs and covers for THE CRISIS under the following conditions:

1. All matter entered for these prizes must be in THE CRISIS office on or before June 15, 1927. The awards will be announced October 24, 1927.

2. All entrants must be of Negro descent. They are urged to become subscribers to THE CRISIS MAGAZINE. Without continuous personal touch with entrants we cannot be sure of their addresses or advise them through our columns.

3. All persons who have received two prizes, first and second, in any one class of entries in CRISIS contests will not compete in this contest but will be placed *hors concour*, becoming automatically members of the Krigwa Academy; they will be asked to serve as judges. The first members of the Krigwa Academy are *Willis Richardson, Washington, D. C.*, who has twice received first prize for plays and *Countée Cullen, New York City*, who has received first and second prizes for poems.

4. All persons who propose to enter the contest must send a stamped addressed envelope for entry blanks.

5. Each manuscript or drawing submitted must be accompanied by an entry blank.

6. No manuscripts will be returned except as follows:

Stories, plays and songs if accompanied by a stamped self-addressed envelope for each manuscript will be returned as soon as practical after the announcement of prizes. Under no circumstances will poems or essays be returned; contestants should therefore keep copies of these. Drawings will be returned after the contest if accompanied by sufficient postage.

7. Each entry upon reception will be acknowledged by post-card.

8. The prizes offered are as follows:

NEGRO BUSINESS PRIZES: $725.

The economic development of the Negro in the last two decades has been phenomenal and it is time that the new development of art and literature among us should be linked up with the economic trend. At the request of THE CRISIS five of the largest and oldest Negro insurance societies and eight of the best banks have consented to head a movement designed to direct the attention of young writers to Negro business.

The following Negro business organizations have united in this effort:

Insurance Companies

The Liberty Life Insurance Company, Chicago, Ill., M. O. Bousfield, President.

The North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, Durham, N. C., C. C. Spaulding, President.

The Northeastern Life Insurance Company, Newark, N. J., H. H. Pace, President.

The Southern Aid Society, Richmond, Va., J. T. Carter, President.

The Supreme Life and Casualty Company, Columbus, O., T. K. Gibson, President.

Banks

The Binga State Bank, Chicago, Ill., Jesse Binga, President.

The Citizens and Southern Bank and Trust Company, Philadelphia, Pa., R. R. Wright, Sr., President.

The Danville Savings Bank, Danville, Va., M. C. Martin, President.

The First Standard Bank, Louisville, Ky., Wilson Lovett, President.

The Peoples Finance Corporation, St. Louis, Mo., G. W. Buckner, Vice-President.

The Prudential Bank, Washington, D. C., J. R. Hawkins, President.

The St. Lukes Penny Savings Bank, Richmond, Va., Mrs. Maggie L. Walker, President.

The Wage Earners Bank, Savannah, Ga., L. E. Williams, President.

The prizes are:

For Short Stories

First Prize	$150
Second Prize	100
Third Prize	50

For Essays

First Prize	$100
Second Prize	50
Third Prize	25

For Cartoons

First Prize	$125
Second Prize	75
Third Prize	50
	$725

This amount may be increased later by the entry of other organizations which still have the matter under consideration. If so, the facts will be published.

The object of these prizes is to stimulate general knowledge of banking and insurance in modern life and specific knowledge of what American Negroes are doing in these fields; and to collect facts and impressions concerning Negro workers and their relation to Negro business.

The stories must have literary merit and be real stories and not mere statements, advertisements or sermons. They should not exceed 8000 words in length.

The essays should not exceed 5000 words in length and should be specific rather than general and based on real knowledge and personal experience. Entrants for these prizes should write to and, if possible, visit the insurance companies and banks for first-hand information and should study their cities and neighborhoods for illustrative facts.

The cartoons must be done in black and white (pen, pencil, wash or charcoal) and must be drawn on regular illustration board. They may consist of one picture or a series but in any case they must be of a size so that all may be reduced to appear on a page 9¾ by 13½ inches, with space for title or caption at the bottom. The subject of the cartoons must be banking and insurance among American Negroes. The drawings must be securely wrapped and sent flat, not folded or rolled. They must have an entry blank pasted on the back with full postage for return.

PRIZES IN LITERARY ART AND EXPRESSION
$350

These prizes are offered out of the gift of Mrs. Amy E. Spingarn, who now for the third year is expressing her faith and interest in Negro ability.

In this contest we are offering the following prizes for short stories, plays and essays:

First Prize	$200
Second Prize	100
Third Prize	50
	$350

Our plan is to ask three sets of judges to choose two stories, two plays and two essays from those submitted; we shall give honorable mention to these. Out of these we shall ask a separate set of judges to select on the basis of literary merit, excellence in the use of the English language, human characterization and personal promise of future growth, first, second and third awards regardless of whether the specimen is fiction, drama or essay. This we think, will avoid awarding mediocre work simply because it is best in its class. Stories must not exceed 8000 words; essays must not exceed 5000 words; plays should be one act in length.

PRIZES FOR POETRY, $225

These prizes are offered by Mr. Carl Brandt and the Empire State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs. We seek here expression and beauty in rhythm and word. The entries may be poems or any other rhythmic form in sermons, speeches, etc. If the poems are a group they must have some central theme or recognizable unity.

The prizes offered are:

First Prize	$150
Second Prize	50
Third Prize	25
Total	$225

PRIZES FOR SONGS, $125

Through the kindness of Mrs. E. R. Mathews we offer these prizes for songs:

First Prize	$100
Second Prize	25
Total	$125

The songs must be original melodies or musical settings with or without words. If with words, the words may be original or adapted.

COVERS FOR THE CRISIS, $260

First Prize	$150
Second Prize	75
Third Prize	25
Fourth Prize	10
Total	$260

These prizes are offered from Mrs. Spingarn's gift. The requirements are limited

and exact and must be *carefully kept*. The drawings must be in black and white (pen, pencil, wash or charcoal) and must be drawn on regular illustration board. The drawings must have conspicuously at the top the words, THE CRISIS, in bold lettering. They must be of a size to be reduced so as to appear on a page 9¾ by 13½ inches. There must be a space at the bottom for the insertion of month and year on the left and "Fifteen cents a copy" must be written in on the right.

The drawings must be wrapped securely and flat, not rolled or folded. They should have an entry blank pasted on the back with full postage for return. The drawings must have some reference to colored people—that is: they must portray colored faces or suggest allusions to the history, art or experience of colored peoples. Under "colored" is understood black, brown, red and yellow peoples, including Negroes, mulattoes, Chinese, Japanese, Egyptians, Arabs, Indians, etc.

All manuscripts and drawings must be original, never before published in any form and at the time of entering this contest they must not be in the hands of any other publisher. THE CRISIS will reserve to the author all rights of publication and reproduction in any way except the rights to first serial publication. THE CRISIS shall have the right to return or publish at its regular rates of compensation any of the manuscripts or drawings submitted.

The Charles Waddell Chestnutt Honorarium, $350

In honor of the first and still foremost novelist of Negro descent in America, seven "Friends of THE CRISIS" have offered us the sum of $350 to be paid for the three best contributions published in THE CRISIS during the year 1927. The contributions selected must be written by persons not on the editorial staff and the decision will be taken by vote of the subscribers to THE CRISIS. Coupons for voting will appear in the March CRISIS. The awards are:

Best contribution.....	$200
Second best contribution....	100
Third best contribution	50
	$350

Finally, as we have said before:

"We trust that all entrants will remember that the prizes are the least valuable part of a prize contest. The great object of these contests is to stimulate effort, set a standard of taste and enable persons to discover in themselves capabilities."

At the Pool

EFFIE LEE NEWSOME

I LIKE to stand right still awhile
Beside some forest pool.
The reeds around it smell so fresh,
The waters look so cool!
Sometimes I just hop in and wade,
And have a lot of fun,
Playing with bugs that dart across
The water in the sun.

They lodge here at this little pool—
All sorts of bugs and things
That hop about its shady banks,
Or dart along with wings,
Or scamper on the water top,
As *water-striders* go,
Or strange *back-swimmers* upside down,
Using their legs to row,
Or the stiff, flashing *dragon flies*,
The gentle *damoiselle*,
The clumsy, sturdy *water-bugs*,
And *scorpions* as well,
That come on top to get fresh air
From homes beneath the pool,
Where *water-boatmen* have their nooks,
On pebbles, as a rule.

And then, behold! Kingfisher comes,
That great big royal bird!
To him what is the *dragon fly*
That kept the pool life stirred?
Or *water-tigers* terrible
That murder bugs all day?
Kingfisher comes, and each of these
Would hide itself away!

He swoops and swallows what he will,
A *stone-fly* or a *frog*.
Wing'd things rush frightened through the air,
Others to hole and log.
The little pool that held them all
I watch grow very bare,
But fisher knows his hide and seek—
He'll find some one somewhere!

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

INTER-STATE "JIM-CROW"

On December 21st, suit for damages of $25,000 was filed by Arthur Garfield Hays of New York against the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad and the Pullman Company on behalf of Mrs. Blanche S. Brookins of Orlando, Florida. Mrs. Brookins, during the summer of 1926, purchased a round-trip ticket from her home to New York to visit her sister. On July 17th she began her return journey after purchasing a Pullman ticket from New York City to Orlando, Florida. She had no trouble until the train was leaving Jacksonville when the train conductor told her that she would have to leave the Pullman car and go forward into the "Jim Crow" car. This Mrs. Brookins refused to do, pointing out to the conductor that she had bought a Pullman ticket through to Orlando. According to Mrs. Brookins' affidavit, the conductor wired ahead to Palatka, Florida, where two officers took her from the train and placed her in jail. There she was forced to remain overnight and on the following morning she was tried, found guilty of violating the so-called "Jim Crow" law and fined $500 and costs, a total of $518.17.

Mrs. Brookins' father is a respected citizen of Winter Park, Florida, having lived there for more than forty years. He is a real estate dealer. Mrs. Brookins' husband is the caretaker in charge of a private estate belonging to a Northern white woman. Her cousin is a prominent physician of Orlando, both he and his wife being graduates of Atlanta University.

Mrs. Brookins' sister reported the matter to the N. A. A. C. P. and, at the Association's request, Mrs. Brookins executed an affidavit giving the facts upon which the suit was based. Mr. Hays gladly filed the suit and Mr. Clarence Darrow has agreed to serve as of counsel.

The N. A. A. C. P. has volunteered to give all possible assistance to Mrs. Brookins and to Messrs. Hays and Darrow because of the very great importance of the issue involved.

MR. PICKENS IN EUROPE

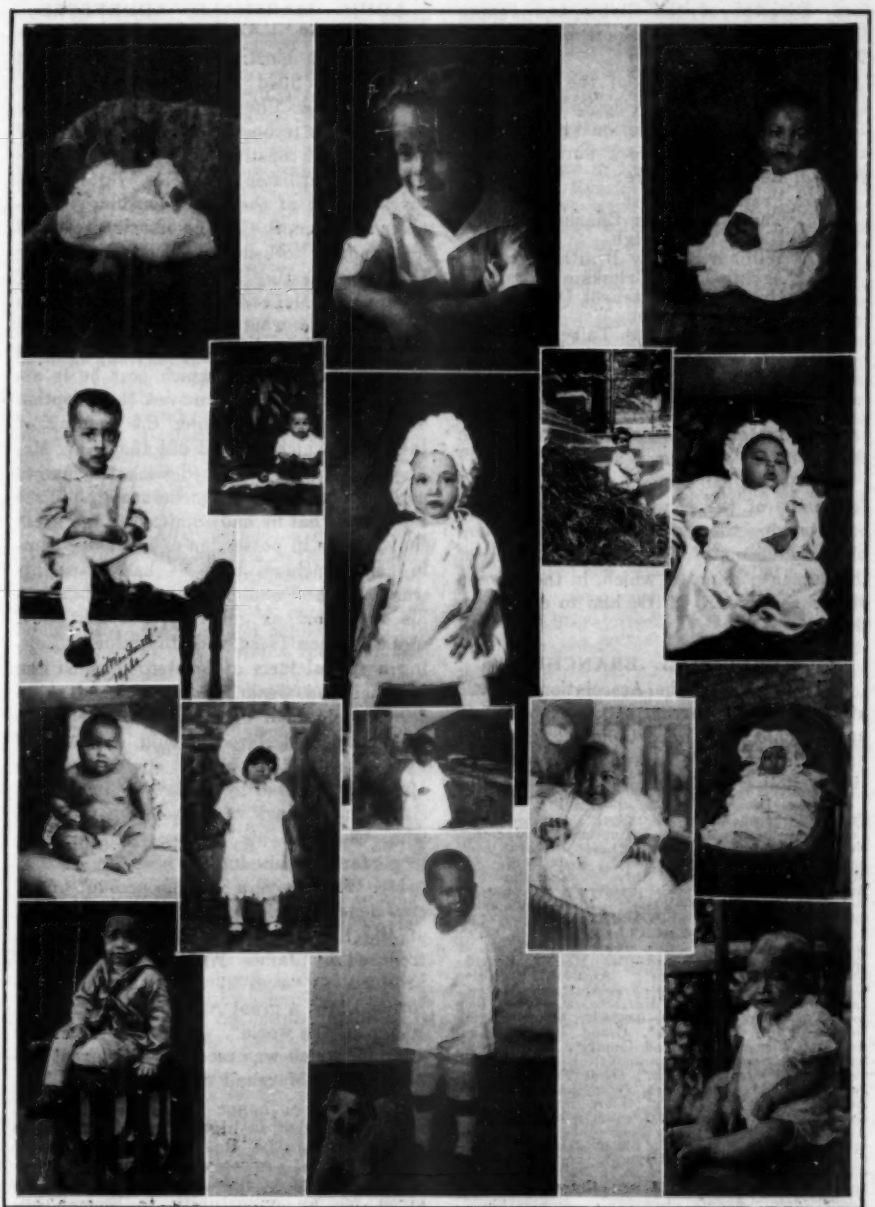
Mr. William Pickens, Field Secretary of the Association, has been in Europe for several weeks, reaching London on December first. He has lectured at Manchester, Leeds, London and other important cities in Great Britain on various phases of the race problem in America and on the international significance of the race question. Mr. Pickens has had a most cordial reception and his speeches have been very widely reported in the press. It is felt that much good will come from this expanding of the Association's campaign of publicity in acquainting the peoples of the world with the true facts regarding the Negro in the United States.

NOMINATIONS FOR SPINGARN MEDAL

Nominations are now open for the Spingarn Medal for 1927 for the "highest and noblest achievement by an American Negro" during 1926. The Spingarn Medal will be awarded at the closing session of the Eighteenth Annual Conference of the N. A. A. C. P. which is to be held at Indianapolis, Indiana, in June.

The Spingarn Medal is presented annually to the man or woman of African descent and American citizenship who shall have made the highest achievement during the preceding year or years in any honorable field of human endeavor. The Committee of Award is bound by no burdensome restrictions but may decide for itself each year what particular act or achievement deserves the highest acclaim. The choice is not limited to any one field, whether of intellectual, spiritual, physical, scientific, artistic, commercial, educational or other endeavor.

Nominations for the Medal should be addressed to Bishop John Hurst, Chairman Spingarn Medal Award Committee, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City. With Bishop Hurst on the Committee of Award are: Dr. John Hope, President of Morehouse College; Oswald Garrison Villard, Editor of *The Nation;* Dr. James H. Dil-



N. A. A. C. P. PRIZE BABIES

Top Row:—Marjorie Steele, Jersey City, N. J., 1st prize; William Boykin, Santa Barbara, Cal., 3rd prize; William Myers, Williamsport, Pa., 1st prize. Second Row:—William Glenn, Minneapolis, Minn., 2nd prize; Robert Johnson, E. Chicago, Ind., 1st prize; Zena Earl, Minneapolis, Minn., 3rd prize; Anna Thomas, Milwaukee, Wis., 3rd prize; Frederick Ferguson, Gary, W. Va., 3rd prize. Third Row:—Lela Franklin, Milwaukee, Wis., 2nd prize; Georgia Jones, Santa Barbara, Cal., 1st prize; Gwendolyn Russell, E. Chicago, Ind., 3rd prize; Mary Campbell, Gary, W. Va., 3rd prize; Frances Byron, E. Chicago, Ind., 3rd prize. Bottom Row:—Jonathan Gibbs, Jr., Trenton, N. J., 1st prize; Charles Curry, Jr., Minneapolis, Minn., 1st prize; Vivian Heath, Gary, W. Va., 4th prize.

lard, Director of the Slater and Jeanes Funds; Col. Theodore Roosevelt and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.

The previous winners of the Medal, instituted in 1914 by J. E. Spingarn now Treasurer of the Association and a friend and supporter of its work during all the years of its existence, are:

1914 Prof. E. E. Just
1915 The late Major Charles Young
1916 Harry T. Burleigh
1917 William Stanley Braithwaite
1918 Archibald H. Grimké
1919 Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
1920 Charles S. Gilpin
1921 The late Mary B. Talbert
1922 Dr. George W. Carver
1923 Roland Hayes
1924 James Weldon Johnson
1925 Dr. Carter G. Woodson

In each instance, the award was made in the year following the year given above.

Any person can make a nomination. The full name of the person nominated should be given together with a concise but complete statement of the accomplishments of the person nominated which, in the opinion of the nominator, entitle him to consideration.

HONOR ROLL BRANCHES

117 branches of the Association in 1926 attained the distinction of the Honor Roll, having paid their apportionment in full or having exceeded their apportionment. The Honor Roll Branches are:

Alabama—Decatur*; *Arizona*—Bisbee*, Douglas, Tucson*; *Arkansas*—Little Rock*, Pine Bluff*; *California*—Fresno, Los Angeles*, Modesto*, Needles*, Pasadena*, San Diego*, San Jose*, Santa Monica, Santa Barbara*, Red Bluff, San Mateo; *Colorado*—Canon City; *Connecticut*—New Britain, Plainville*, New Haven*; *Delaware*—Wilmington*; *Georgia*—Rome*; *Illinois*—Bloomington*, Chicago*, Danville, Decatur*, Georgetown, Peoria, Quincy; *Indiana*—East Chicago*, French Lick*, Gary*, Indianapolis*, Lawrence County*, South Bend, Terre Haute*; *Iowa*—Des Moines, Keokuk; *Kansas*—Crawford County*, Atchison*, Garden City*, Newton*; *Kentucky*—Frankfort*, Lexington*, Louisville*, Winchester; *Massachusetts*—New Bedford, Worcester; *Michigan*—Bay City, Battle Creek*, Detroit, Flint, Hamtramck*, Grand Rapids*, Lansing, Mt. Clemens*, Oakland County*, Port Huron*, Saginaw*; *Minnesota*—Minneapolis; *Missouri*—Jefferson City; *Montana*—Billings*, Great Falls*; *Nebraska*—Alliance, Lincoln*; *New Jersey*—Asbury Park*, Atlantic City*, Jersey City*, Long Branch*, Montclair*, Newark*, Oranges*, Trenton*; *New Mexico*—Albuquerque*, Raton*; *New York*—Binghamton*, Buffalo*, Elmira*, Rochester*, Staten Island*; *Ohio*—Cincinnati*, Columbus*, Dayton*, Lima*, Steubenville*, Wellsville, Youngstown*; *Oklahoma*—Enid, Logan County, Oklahoma City*; *Oregon*—Vernonia; *Pennsylvania*—Chester, Cheyney*, Hollidaysburg*, Lancaster*, New Castle, Philadelphia*, Williamsport*, Uniontown; *South Carolina*—Calhoun County; *South Dakota*—Sioux Falls*; *Tennessee*—Memphis*; *Utah*—Salt Lake City*; *Virginia*—Danville*, Petersburg; *West Virginia*—Bluefield, Gary, Keystone*; *Wisconsin*—Beloit*; *Wyoming*—Casper. Later Princeton New Jersey, Chickasha and Oklmulgee, Oklahoma, Jackson, Mississippi, Springfield, Illinois, Yoakom, Texas and Charleston, West Virginia, have paid in full.

* Exceeded their apportionment.

LOUIS MARSHALL ADDRESSES ANNUAL MEETING

FIFTEEN hundred white and colored citizens filled the beautiful new St. Mark's M. E. Church in New York City on Sunday afternoon, January 2nd, to hear the famous constitutional lawyer, Louis Marshall and listen to Walter White on his investigation of the triple lynching in October at Aiken, S. C. The assemblage voted unanimously to send to President Coolidge a letter protesting against consideration of Thomas G. McLeod, ex-governor of South Carolina who went out of office on January 18th, for membership on the Federal Trade Commission to which post he is aspiring. Mr. Marshall moved the adoption of a resolution approving the sending of the letter which pointed out that Gov. McLeod had been furnished with the names and addresses of the lynchers of the three Lowmans, that he had admitted to the press that he was in possession of affidavits naming the lynchers, that he had given his word that he "would not 'pass the buck' to his successor" as governor, but that Gov. McLeod when faced with the issue of calling a special term of court to consider the evidence had weakened and refused to do so. Appointment of McLeod, the letter to the President declared, "would be construed by eleven million Negro citizens of the United States and by all law-abiding white citizens as a mark of approval of the man, who, whatever his motives, was derelict in performing his duty".

Mr. White gave a graphic account of his experiences in investigating the lynching of the Lowmans. Mr. Marshall was introduced by James Weldon Johnson, who presided, as "a great authority on constitutional law, a great American and a great citizen of the world". In the course of his address, which was received with great applause, Mr. Marshall said, in part:

I know of no honor that I have received which I cherish so highly as that of being a member of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It has given me an opportunity to become acquainted with your problem and to have made the acquaintance of the men in whom the destines of your organization have been placed. In the seventy years of my life I have had much experience in many different directions and in many different kinds of organizations, but I have never known men who possessed greater single-

ness of purpose, courage, conscious sense of duty and ability than these men. . . .

Now, there are many ways of fighting a battle. There are those who are content, when they hear of an outrage, to cry out in despair and to pray, to weep and to lament and to lose hope and allow things to drift. That is what the average man does—the average woman—when they feel themselves helpless against abuses, against outrage. There are those who desire, as the result of an impulse, to meet force with force and outrage with outrage, assault with assault. That is an equally undesirable method of approach, especially in a civilized country. That, of course, can only result in injury to the one who exerts it. There is but one occasion where force may be used and that is in self-defense, defense of one's self, one's family, one's home. That was the method resorted to in the Sweet Case and that was vindicated by the voice of justice. It is only in that kind of case that violence is justified, because violence begets violence and we are now living in a period of the world where different methods must prevail.

There is a third method—a difficult one. That is one which appeals to the conscience of mankind, one which appeals to the law, one which asks the courts to adjudicate, one which feareth not to enter into the houses of parliament and deliberation, into the legislatures of the states, into Congress and demand there those rights which are a part of the property of humanity.

Now, the organization which, to my mind, most nearly meets the needs of the hour, so far as the colored people of this country are concerned, is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is courageous. It does not crawl. It does not weep. It does not show weakness. It does not throw itself upon the mercy of the aggressor. It does not seek to incite to violence, to revenge; but it seeks to acquire through the courts a charter of liberties, to have vindicated by the courts that charter of liberties which is ours through the Constitution.

You can judge sometimes what a man thinks of his liberty by what he is willing to pay for it. I do not think he thinks it worth much if he pays fifty cents or a dollar for it. We have had some experience in this respect. I belong to an ancient race which has had even longer experience of oppression than you have. We came out of human bondage nearly thirty centuries ago and we have had trouble ever since. In all parts of the world we have had to fight for our lives, for our existence, for our conscience, for our rights to express ourselves, to believe in God according to our own views. We have been subjected to massacres, wholesale massacres, not mere individual lynching. We have been prevented in some countries from getting an education, from getting any of the opportunities of earning a livelihood. We were not permitted to own land, or go into the fields of Russia or Poland and other countries. We were not permitted to engage in any profession. We had kings and queens and jack-spots, a whole lot of them, against us. But we did not give up. We fought our battle. We went from country to country. The very year that America was discovered, 1492, six hundred thousand of us—all that were in Spain—were driven out of Spain. In Russia, in Poland and in other countries we were subjected to indignities in comparison with which to sit in a "Jim-Crow" car is to occupy a palace. Yet we have not given up and we are not going to give up. We learned in the fall of 1914 here in this city that the Jews of Eastern Europe were starving, that the armies of the various contending nations were marching through their dooryards, not content with looting everything they had but inflicting upon them the greatest calamities. We did not sit down. We made up our minds we would help our brethren. There are only three and a half millions of us in this country. You are eleven and a half millions. I have had the honor of calling together the committee for the last twelve years. In that time we have raised and distributed $85,000,000. We did not do it with five, ten and twenty-five dollars. . . .

A letter was read at the meeting from Moorfield Storey, reciting the great achievements on behalf of justice to the Negro gained by the N. A. A. C. P. during 1926 and urging renewed support of the Association by the public.

On Monday afternoon, January 3rd, the annual business meeting of the Association was held at the National Office. The reports of the work done during 1926 were enthusiastically received. A resumé of these reports will be given in the March issue of THE CRISIS and the full account in the 17th Annual Report which soon goes to press.

At the business meeting the following persons were elected to the National Board of Directors for terms expiring December 31, 1929:

Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, New York.
Miss Nannie H. Burroughs, Washington.
Hon. James A. Cobb, Washington.
Prof. George W. Cook, Washington.
Hon. Harry E. Davis, Cleveland.
The Rev. John Haynes Holmes, New York.
Hon. Ira W. Jayne, Detroit.
Mr. Louis Marshall, New York.
Mr. Isadore Martin, Philadelphia.
Mr. J. E. Spingarn, New York.
Mr. Moorfield Storey, Boston.
Mr. William English Walling, Greenwich, Conn.

The Death Game

A Story

EDWIN DRUMMOND SHEEN

This story received the second prize of $50 in THE CRISIS *contest of 1926.*

The first part of the story, published in the January CRISIS, *tells how Nell Bowen, a broken down white woman of the streets, was protected and supported by black Joe Nixon. She could not, however, be true to him and was receiving the advances of Shug Lewis, a superstitious Negro gambler, whose "hoodoo" was the Jack of Spades. They were together in Nell's room when there came a knocking at the door.*

III

JOE NIXON

Nell leaped out of Shug's embrace.

"Who's there?" she called a little startled.

"The law," replied a gruff voice from without.

Nell glanced at Shug.

"The law, hell," she retorted. "What's the game of coming around this early in the morning, Joe Nixon?"

"Open the door, woman, before I break it down."

The voice meant business. Shug felt for his revolver and swore. The police had taken it from him in the raid. Nell hesitated. The door received a mighty push from without. The rotting boards could not hold the lock. Another mightier push, and Joe Nixon stood before the abashed pair.

There was silence for possibly half a minute. Shug sprawled back on the settee, pushed his hands into his pockets and leered at the impromptu visitor. Nell appeared a little nervous. After a time she moved over to a shelf on the wall and drew a small automatic revolver from behind the clock. She felt safer with it. If Joe thought she was going to murder him in cold blood, he betrayed no anxiety. He stood motionless, looking from one to the other, a slight narrowing of the eyes the only expression on his face.

Shug finally drew a cigar out of his vest pocket, lighted it and crossed his legs with the air of one who is at his ease.

"Well, what of it?" he demanded insolently. "You see us here—now, what are you going to do about it?"

Joe was still silent. Nell moved close to him and put her hand on his shoulder. There was a little liquor on his breath.

"Come on, Joe," Nell said, "sit down—be yourself—don't start nothing in my house—you're drunk."

Joe looked down on her. She still had the revolver in her free hand. He stroked her faded hair tenderly.

"What's he to you?"

Nell ignored his question.

"You've done busted down my door, Joe. Now go on away—sit down—sober up."

Shug was still quietly smoking on the settee. Joe drew a deep sigh.

"I ain't drunk, hon. I've had a pint or two, maybe, but I've got plenty of sense."

Nell tried to smile in her old alluring way.

"Joe, honey, won't you—"

Joe suddenly took her hand from his shoulder and pushed her gently to one side.

"Sit down, kid," he said. "This thing's got to be settled." He walked around the table and stood directly before Shug.

"Well, Shug," he said, almost regretfully. "I guess it'll have to be either me or you tonight. I've been hearing a lot about you and letting you run on—but I guess it'll have to be either me or you tonight. I've been trying awful hard to make something out of this girl because I want her and you keep on running around behind my back making it hard on me. Of course, I know she ain't supposed to be much, but she's all I have ever loved and I ain't going to have her running around with any rat like you—while I'm alive."

Shug grunted.

"I ain't put no gun on her to make her go with me. She wouldn't run around with me if she didn't want to."

Joe knew Shug was speaking the truth, but he defended his love.

"You're putting temptation in her way, though, and you know she's weak and can't stand much temptation."

"I guess I've got to ask you about who I can have for a sweetie," challenged Shug sullenly.

Joe ignored him. He turned to the source of all the controversy.

"Nell, what is it that attracts you to fellows like this?"—he made a gesture toward the settee. "It wouldn't hurt me so much if you was more particular."

Nell looked at the floor.

"Of course," Joe went on, "if that's what you want, I guess—"

Nell arose and approached him again. She had laid the revolver on the table.

"Don't talk that way, daddy," she pleaded. "Can't you trust me?"

Joe did not resist her as she pulled him down on the settee, she herself sitting between him and Shug, with an arm around each.

"I love you both," continued the jaded siren. "Can't we be pals together?"

Both men arose, Shug scowling and sullen, Joe calm but firm.

"No, Nell," Joe said slowly. "We can't do it. It's got to be either him or me."

Nell was silent. They were all silent for a short space of time. Then Shug turned and faced his rival.

"I know what we'll do," he challenged. "You're supposed to be a hell of a gambler, ain't you? Well, we'll have a game of five-up right here and the winner gets the gal."

Joe thought seriously for a moment.

"The winner gets Nell," repeated Joe. "And the loser, what does he get?"

"He don't get anything—but a lot of air."

"You're trying to tell me that if you lose, you'll go away and let Nell alone?"

"Sure I will, if I lose."

Nell had gone to get the cards, but Joe was still dissatisfied.

"You expect me to trust you that way?" Joe said. "I'd take that up with a man, but with you, it's got to be either me or you."

Nell brought the deck and laid it on the table. Joe went on after a pause.

"It's your deal. The winner gets Nell. The loser—gets a bullet in his head. Deal."

Shug hesitated. Nell started and stared at Joe. He was not joking. He took a heavy revolver from his pocket.

"Give your gun to Nell."

Shug's composure was somewhat disturbed. This was an awful gamble. He had never played that way before.

"I ain't got no gun," he said a little nervously. "Do you think I'd of let you bust in here like you did if I had a gun? The law took it away from me."

"You ain't got none, have you?" Joe "fanned" him quickly. "Well, I'll unload mine. Now, listen—get this straight—the man that loses backs up against the wall and puts his hands up like a man. Here, Nell, you hold the gun and give it to the man that wins the game. Is that all right?"

Joe talked about the game with life for stakes as calmly as if it were penny ante. Shug hesitated. He seemed to realize that when he challenged Joe's gambling nerve, he had bitten off more than he could chew.

"How come the loser's got to be killed?" he wanted to know.

"Because that's the only way I can trust you—dead." Joe squared his jaw. "You began talking about gambling; now, deal."

Shug plainly did not like this sort of game at all. He gnawed his lower lip. If he had had his revolver, he probably would have shot it out with his cool, firm rival on the spot, but he was helpless. As he fingered the cards nervously, Nell whispered something to him. His brow wrinkled momentarily, then cleared up. He began to shuffle the deck.

"All right," he said, swallowing. "No backing out, now. These is your own stakes."

Joe folded his arms.

"Did you ever know *me* to back out of anything?"

Shug's hands trembled noticeably as he dealt six cards, three at a time to his calm opponent and himself. He turned a jack for the trump.

"Jack and one," he exclaimed. Then he sobered. It was the jack of spades.

"We ought to make this the best two out of three," he suggested uneasily.

"Sure, if you want it that way," agreed Joe.

"Yes," pursued Shug, "that jack of spades don't mean me no good. Bet I ain't got another trump."

Joe looked at his hand and "stood" on the queen and six spot. Shug made a ten and played the king and deuce for high, low and the game, bringing his score up to four, while Joe was without a point. Joe dealt and turned up a heart. Shug promptly showed him the ace for game.

"That damned jack of spades is bound to mess me up some way," he muttered in nervous exasperation.

Joe did not hear him, but guessed the substance of his complaint.

"You could've been shooting if you hadn't got scared," he observed placidly as

Shug shuffled the deck for his second deal.

The second game went three hands, Joe getting out from three when he stood on the "dry" jack of diamonds and caught Shug without a trump. He displayed no emotion as he shuffled the deck for his deal.

"Yes, you could've been shooting," he remarked dryly.

Shug cursed the jack of spades again. The seriousness of the situation was coming home to him more strongly as the real showdown approached. Just the least bit of ill luck in this game and he was a dead man. The proposition was enough to make a stout heart flutter. Shug was getting markedly nervous.

"Damn it, Joe, I don't like this game! Take the damned gal, if you want her that bad."

"Not while you're walking around, Shug. I can't trust you. It's got to be either you or me."

Death-like stillness reigned. It was after four and nobody was abroad even on Dearborn street. Shug felt extremely helpless and alone as he met the cold stare of the quiet man across the table from him. Sweat rose on his wrinkled forehead. His breathing became hard and audible. He looked appealingly at Nell, as if he thought she could do something.

Nell stood at the side of the table with her arms folded and the prospective death weapon in her right hand. She smiled at Shug.

"Come on, Shug, stand up," she encouraged. It was evident that this experience was giving her a sense of power not felt for many years. She whispered something else to Shug, Joe thought, but he did not question her about it.

"Well, what do you do?" he asked his opponent.

Shug picked up the six cards Joe had dealt him, and laughed aloud. A heart had been turned up, and he had the ace, king, jack and deuce. Wildly joyful at this relief, he scored all four points and shuffled for the next deal eagerly.

"Now, I always could deal myself *one* point," he grinned confidently. "Put that gun close here, Nell, where that coon can't grab it when I win. You's a bad gambler, ain't you? Well, you don't need to think I won't shoot you. Looks to me like you're out on that limb."

Joe was indeed in a rather unenviable position. Just a single point stood between him and death. Just one more point on Shug's score and according to his own agreement, he would have to back up to the wall and let this lowest of humans across from him riddle him with bullets from the revolver of the girl he loved. Any ordinary man would have cracked under the strain—perhaps would have sought to escape through the door which was still partly open. But Iron Joe only held the edge of the table a little more tightly and swallowed.

"Five is the game," he said with no detectable emotion in his voice.

Nell moved over to Shug and patted him on the shoulder.

"Don't talk so much, Shug, you ain't won yet," she admonished.

Joe did not like the tender note in her voice nor the affectionate look which she gave Shug as she spoke, but he said nothing. Shug had the cards and turned up a spade for trumps. Joe stood on the ten and the five and played high, low and the game for three points. Shug swore violently as he threw his cards in for the next deal and remarked that he couldn't have any luck at all with spades. The score was now four and three. Shug was no longer boastful, but neither did he appear to be very fearful of the outcome. Joe had noticed that Shug had been rather strangely cool ever since Nell had seemed to whisper to him.

He shuffled the cards carefully. Somebody was going to go out on that hand. Shug needed one point and he needed two. Either the high trump or the low one by itself would put Shug out, while he needed both. Jack and game didn't count that hand. He handed the deck to Shug for the cut.

"Somebody's going to get shot after this hand," he said evenly.

Shug cut the cards silently. It was the zero hour. There was no sound audible as Joe carefully dealt the two hands. Nell stood again with her arms folded and the revolver in her right hand. She held her lower lip between her teeth and followed Joe's hand with mechanical interest. Shug was entirely composed. His cigar worked up and down and from side to side as he chewed on the end of it. Joe finished the deal, placed the deck on the table and turned the trump.

"Jack and four with you," he observed unexcitedly.

Shug swore violently. Joe had turned the jack of diamonds. In Shug's hand were the ace, four and deuce of spades, the king of clubs, the ace of hearts and the nine of diamonds. With anything but diamonds for the trump, Shug would have been almost sure to win on the high card. With spades and hearts, victory was certain. With clubs, it would take the ace to beat him. Shug surveyed his hand and the jack of diamonds turned up in disgust. He hesitated a moment, evidently waiting to see if he could get a hint of what Joe's hand contained. Joe was expressionless. He had not even looked at his hand. As he hesitated, Nell moved over to Joe's side.

"I'll give you the gun whether you win or not," she whispered.

Joe shook his head.

"Go on, kid, I don't play that way," he returned huskily.

Shug spread his hand out on the table.

"Run the cards man, and if you miss that hand, you're a good one."

Joe examined the hand and turned his own over. It revealed five small spades and the seven of clubs.

"Nary a diamond," he observed. "You could've been shooting on that nine spot if you hadn't got scared."

Shug couldn't understand how a man in the face of almost certain death could keep his composure so completely.

"You may as well give me the gun, Nell," he said. "He's bound to hit one of these aces or this king in the run—huh uh, he can't win now—turn it!"

Joe had dealt him the ace of clubs in the run. He had the high card in all three suits now for sure. Joe turned another diamond. Shug stood up.

"Come on, diamonds no more—run 'em on."

Joe ran the cards again, turning up diamonds once more. Nell was getting nervous. The gun was shaking violently in her hand. Shug ground his teeth in exasperation as Joe turned up another diamond and ran the cards on again.

"What's the use of keeping on?" he demanded. "You know you're beat no matter what you turn. Ain't I got high in every suit?"

Joe's chances did appear extremely slim, to tell the truth. There was only one remote possibility of his winning, with all the remaining aces in Shug's hand. He reminded Shug of the last hope.

"Suppose I turn another jack?"

Shug had entirely forgotten that possibility in his elation over his three aces. It sobered him somewhat, but he was still confident.

"Now, I know you ain't going to turn no two jacks on me in one deal."

Joe was not reassuring.

"It has been done," he remarked calmly as he turned over a diamond for the fifth time.

"Hell, man, ain't you never going to turn up a trump?" complained Shug. "Ain't there nothing but diamonds in that deck?"

Shug was getting a little worried. Diamonds were coming up so persistently that he feared it was a bad omen. Joe dealt quietly, three more cards to Shug, three more to himself. He set the deck on the table . . . turned over the trump. Shug started back, his face pale and ghastly.

"That damned jack of spades!"

Joe smiled very faintly.

"You could've been shooting if you hadn't got scared."

Shug, in the meantime, was looking at Nell. She had a hard smile on her face. Of a sudden he made a leap for her.

"Gi'me that damned gun, you double-crossing—"

Joe snatched the revolver from Nell's hand and pushed Shug back.

"Stand back, stand back! You can't pull off anything like that. I gamble fair with you and you'll gamble fair with me. Get back."

Shug backed up and collapsed on the settee.

"Don't shoot me, Joe, don't shoot," he begged. "You can have the gal—I don't want her—she's crooked—she said she wanted me and she'd give me the gun even if I lost—and then she went and double-crossed me. I'll let her alone, Joe. I'll get out of town—"

He paused, still shaking, but encouraged, for Joe had slowly lowered the weapon. Joe was looking searchingly at Nell, who was standing demurely at his side with her arm around his waist. He seemed suddenly to have forgotten Shug entirely.

"Did you tell *him* that too, Nell?" For the first time there was a slight tremor in his voice.

Nell was excited.

"No, no, of course not. What 'd I want to tell him that for? You know what a powerful liar Shug Lewis is."

"She did say it," insisted Shug. "She told me that when she thought I was winning and then double-crossed me."

"Shug Lewis, you're just a lying hound!" Nell bared her stained and decaying teeth at him. "Don't believe him, Joe," she added in a gentler voice.

But Joe pushed her away.

"Nell, you ain't worth a damn," he sighed. "After all I've done for you and all I've tried to make out of you, you still ain't worth a damn. You never will be worth a damn, Nell, as long as your feet point frontwards. You've just made a sucker out of me and got me going to shoot a man over you. . . . I thought maybe you'd amount to something, sometime, but Nell —you ain't worth a damn."

He paused a moment. The man on the settee and the woman who was totally taken off her feet by the unexpected attack stared at Iron Joe, who for the first time appeared to be moved. Suddenly he made a gesture of despair. Nell dodged as if she thought he was going to hit her, but he hardly saw her.

"Go ahead and take the gal, Shug," Joe continued. "I don't want her. I wouldn't even kill a rat like you about her. Here."

And then Joe walked deliberately to Shug on the settee, gave him the loaded revolver and turned his back on Shug Lewis, the rat, the treacherous, the lowest of humans, his enemy, armed with a loaded revolver—Joe turned his back on Shug Lewis and walked out of the musty basement flat without the slightest suggestion of hurry. And Shug Lewis cowered on the settee, with murder in his eyes, but as powerless to shoot as if his fingers were paralyzed.

Outside the door, Joe Nixon crossed Dearborn street and cast a farewell look back at Nell's squalid basement. Perhaps he had been a fool to take up with her from the first, but—well, he just thought there was something in her. He stood for a long time gazing at the pale light coming through the sieve-like curtains at the front windows. He was thinking of the past, when he used to have dreams that included Nell. Finally, he lit a cigarette, turned and started for Thirty-third street. . . .

A shot from Nell's flat arrested his footsteps, but did not startle him. He started back to the flat, but stopped.

"That damned fool's done gone and killed himself about that no 'count gal."

But a moment later, he saw the form of Shug Lewis dart out the front door and dodge into the gloom between the houses.

THE END

In the Hospital

CLAUDE McKAY

AFTER the nights like days, the days like nights,
Crowded with movement, filled and overflowing,
Whirling like circling birds in aimless flights,
Dipping round gilded dome and steepled heights,
Blessed is being here and without knowing
Or caring of the city's ways and sights.

With peace dearer than love within my breast,
Blessed is being here behind the curtain,
Blessed to know the meaning of real rest,
Where even thought can at its virile best
Be sweet, yet no less militant and certain
Than a fierce eagle folded in its nest.

Far from the petty troubles of the street,
And little men who mouth their little woe,
Blessed is being in this strange retreat,
Blessed the sleepy hours so long and sweet,
That fold me in from life my friend and foe,
With kindly bands about my hands and feet.

Like music blown through tropical corn sheaves,
Blessed the foreign tongue that soothes and charms,
Like golden drops of rain from thick-thatched eaves,
That fall into uplifted tania leaves,
Blessed disease, the bitter scourge, that warms
My chastened spirit that here new hope receives.

The Horizon

¶ The actual construction of a modern, fireproof Y. M. C. A. building for Buffalo, New York, will be begun in the spring. The building will cost about $250,000 and will be four stories with part basement. It will contain separate men's and boys' departments, with social rooms, billiard rooms, library, locker rooms, barber shop and tailor shop, swimming pool and gymnasium, a cafeteria, cold storage rooms, single dormitory rooms for one hundred men and a large lounge on the first floor at the main entrance.

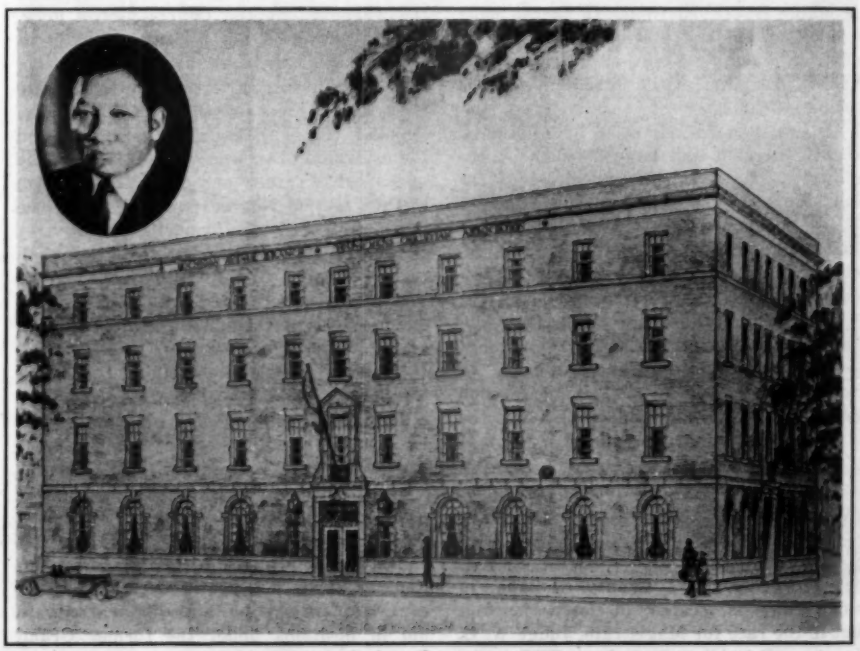
¶ James Irvine, 92, a white man, who was Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and one of the oldest members of the West African trade, is dead. Mr. Irvine first went to Calabar in 1858 and after five years there returned to Liverpool where he established the firm of Irvine and Dundas, West African Merchants, which went out of business in 1884. Since then Mr. Irvine has been in business in Liverpool as a West African broker.

¶ The total net trade amounting to over £41,000,000 in 1923 and over £55,000,000 in 1925, is evidence of the remarkable economic progress of West African Colonies.

¶ Herbert Jenkins, senior at Colby College, Waterville, Maine, and president of the Y. M. C. A. there, represented his college at the inter-collegiate Y. M. C. A. conference recently held in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

¶ The Board of School Commissioners of Baltimore, Maryland, at its last meeting, granted the request of the faculty of School No. 401 that this school be given the name "Fannie Jackson Coppin Normal School" in honor of Mrs. Coppin who was a pioneer in College and Normal School education.

¶ Twenty-five white men in public life were the guests of the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on a unique tour through the city's Negro industrial and residential sections.



THE PROPOSED Y. M. C. A. BUILDING AT BUFFALO, N. Y.
INSET: WILLIAM H. JACKSON, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

¶ *The Columbus Times*, a colored paper of Columbus, Georgia, has issued a colored Columbus "Directory and Year Book". The organizations of the city are interesting: there are among colored people a Community Center, a Y. M. C. A., a Family Welfare Bureau and a Public Health Nurse Association. There are five physicians, three dentists and one lawyer. Of the cultural organizations, there are thirty-three churches, eleven public halls and six public schools, of which one has thirty-four teachers and the others respectively ten, nine, five, three and two teachers. There are two moving picture theaters, forty restaurants and lunch counters, three garages, fifteen barber shops, two beauty parlors, four billiard parlors, eight blacksmiths, four contractors, thirteen cleaners and dyers, three drug stores, two fish markets, five undertaking establishments, fifty-two grocery stores, thirty-two drays and taxi-cabs, seven agencies of insurance societies, five meat markets, one haberdasher, two musical studios, six shoe repairers and one weekly paper. There are about ten thousand Negroes in the city.

¶ At the Folies Bergere, the best known of the Paris music halls, the colored dancer, Josephine Baker, continues to be the most popular of all the stars. The Folies recently obtained an extension of her contract that will keep her at their theater until the Spring of 1928.

¶ Regent Ras-Tafari, ruler of Abyssinia, recently greeted and gave freedom of the country to the scientific expedition of the Field Museum and *Chicago Daily News*.

¶ The Mechanics and Farmers Bank of Durham and Raleigh, North Carolina, recently issued the statement that its resources net $870,346.25.

¶ Isaac Williams of New York City and the only colored communicant of The Mount Vernon Congregational Church is dead. In their monthly paper, the Mount Vernon *Messenger*, Reverend Sidney Lovett, the minister, pays him high tribute.

¶ Robert T. Kerlin is giving two courses in literature at Lincoln University this year. One is "Negro Poetry" and the other, "The Art of Poetry".

¶ The official count of the ballots of Calumet Township, Lake County, Indiana, in which Gary is located, disclosed the fact that in the race for Magistrate, Judge W. C. Hueston, Republican, received 7897 votes and his white opponent, William Bray, Democrat, 2549. This is significant for the reason that in this district the Negro population is only about one-eighth of the whole.

¶ The residents of Boley, Oklahoma, the largest exclusively colored city in the United States, recently exercised their constitutional rights to vote for the first time in sixteen years. The granting of the injunction restraining state and county officials from further interfering with rights of the colored voters of Okfuskee County follows a fight started in 1924 against the disfranchisement of more than five hundred voters.

¶ Carle Mayhew, 14 year old student of Mount Morris High School, New York City, recently won the *Evening World* contest prize of ten dollars for the best answers on current events from students of public and private schools of New York City and vicinity.

¶ Grace Peterson of Poughkeepsie, New York, received the State scholarship to Cornell through competitive examination. She was an honor student all during her high school course and was graduated among the leaders of her class in June, 1926.

¶ S. P. Nelson, newly elected President of the Arkansas Baptist College, Little Rock, recently accepted his position officially at a program given in his honor.

¶ The following states elected Negroes to their legislatures in the recent election: Illinois, three; Missouri, Nebraska and Pennsylvania, two each; California, Ohio and West Virginia, one each. In addition to this, several Negroes were placed in the law-making bodies of various cities.

¶ George D. Gregory, the basket ball star at De Witt Clinton High School, is the first colored student to be elected President of the General Organization of that high school.

¶ Edgar P. Benjamin, prominent attorney of Boston, Massachusetts, recently presented to the congregation of St. Cyprians Episcopal Church a hand-carved pulpit of beautiful design and gothic construction.

¶ The dispute arising out of the displacement by white men of sixty-seven colored dining and cafe car waiters, employed by the Grand Trunk lines of the Canadian National Railway, has been settled as follows: each man involved retains his seniority to bid in positions under the former Grand Trunk dining and parlor car schedule and

A GLIMPSE OF NIGERIA, GOLD COAST, WEST AFRICA
(From Donald Maxwell's *Wembley in Colour*)

NEW NEGRO ARTISTS

Cullen Miller Dickinson Coleman Spence

those men who have been displaced as waiters can take positions as parlor and buffet car porters all over the system.

¶ The State Y. M. C. A. Older Colored Boys' Conference for the central and eastern sections of the state was held at Cynthiana, Kentucky, November 26-28. Seventy-one boys registered from fourteen high schools, each group being accompanied by an adult leader. Six Christian living decisions and seventy-one forward steps decisions were made.

¶ During the recent inauguration of President Jones members of the alumni of Fisk University raised $35,000 in less than half an hour, after Paul D. Cravath of New York had made a donation of $25,000.

¶ Counteé Cullen of New York City received the second prize for his poem, "Thoughts in a Zoo", in THE CRISIS contest of 1926. Mr. Cullen was educated in the public schools of New York City and is an A. B. and Phi Beta Kappa of New York University. He received the Master of Arts degree from Harvard in June, 1926. He received the first prize in literature in the Harmon Awards of 1926. His first book of poems, "Color", has gone through seven editions. He was Witter Bynner Prizeman, 1925.

¶ Loren R. Miller of Topeka, Kansas, received the first prize for his essay, "College", in THE CRISIS contest of 1926. Mr. Miller has attended the University of Kansas, Washburn College at Topeka, Kansas, and is now a senior in the Law School of Howard University.

¶ Blanche Taylor Dickinson of Sewickley, Pennsylvania, received honorable mention for her poem, "That Hill", in THE CRISIS contest of 1926. Four of her poems have recently been accepted to appear in "Present Day Poets".

¶ Anita Scott Coleman of Los Angeles, California, received second prize for her essay, "Unfinished Masterpieces", in THE CRISIS contest of 1926. Mrs. Coleman writes interestingly, "Having been born in Guaymas, Mexico, and raised in New Mexico, I am a firm believer in the delightful possibilities of 'mañana'. At present there are four kiddies, a husband and a house to keep in order."

¶ Eulalie Spence of Brooklyn, New York, received the second prize for her play, "Foreign Mail", in THE CRISIS contest of 1926. Miss Spence has studied play-writing and play directing at Columbia University for several years. Last May she received her license to teach elocution in the Senior High Schools of New York City.

¶ Benjamin F. Hubert, president of Georgia State Industrial College, was born in the rural district of White Plains, Georgia, where he received his elementary education. Afterwards he attended Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, where he received his A. B. degree in 1909. In 1912 he was graduated from the Massachusetts Agricultural College with the B. S. degree. He has done graduate work in the Massachusetts Agricultural College, the University of Wisconsin and the University of Minnesota. During his scholastic career, Mr. Hubert won many noteworthy honors, among them being an honorable mention as a student, captain of a class debating team, a member of the inter-collegiate debating team and the representative of his college in oratory. Mr. Hubert has been Director of the Agricultural Department of South Carolina, editor and founder of the "Palmetto Farmer", Special Agent of the United States Food Administration during the World War and Director of Agriculture at Tuskegee.

¶ Albert A. Smith, of Paris, France, who won honorable mention for a drawing in the 1926 CRISIS contest, was born in New York, in 1896. His early studies were done in New York City, at the National Academy of Design, under the direction of the best American masters. Upon his return from France, where he served as a soldier during the World War, he won a first prize as an etcher and several mentions as a painter. He has re-entered France as a musician and has visited Belgium, Italy and France, where he has found interesting material for his etchings.

¶ Starting business twenty-six years ago with resources of only $102, the Wage Earners Bank of Savannah, Georgia, is now the largest Negro bank in the world. It has over 30,000 depositors and resources of $1,305,988.93.

"MOB RULL," BY ALBERT SMITH. HONORABLE MENTION, 1926

Allen Coleman Warlick Inborden Dwelle

¶ Dr. Laurie Lee Allen of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, who joined the staff of the Muirdale Sanitarium in February, 1916, as laboratory technician and who rose to junior physician, then to senior resident physician, now has become a visiting physician.

¶ Thomas N. Coleman, graduate of Troy High School, Troy, New York, was the only colored boy in the class. At different times he represented his school in track meets and cross country running and did equally fine work on the basket ball team of which he was Captain for two years.

¶ Miss Lula G. Warlick has gone to Mercy Hospital, Philadelphia, to take charge of its Training School. She is a graduate of Lincoln Hospital, New York City, class of 1910. Miss Warlick has been Supervisor in charge of the gynecological ward at Lincoln Hospital; Assistant Superintendent and Superintendent of Provident Hospital, Chicago; head of the Training School at the Old General Hospital, Kansas City, Missouri; head of the Training School of Mercy Hospital; and Health Director and Instructor of Hygiene in the Lincoln High School, Kansas City, Missouri.

¶ Professor Thomas S. Inborden, after thirty-one years of continuous service as Principal of the Joseph K. Brick Junior College, near Enfield, North Carolina, is now Principal Emeritus of that institution. Since his graduation from Fisk University thirty-five years ago, Professor Inborden has preached at Beaufort, North Carolina, and organized an American Missionary Association school at Helena, Arkansas, where he was for two years before assuming his duties at Brick.

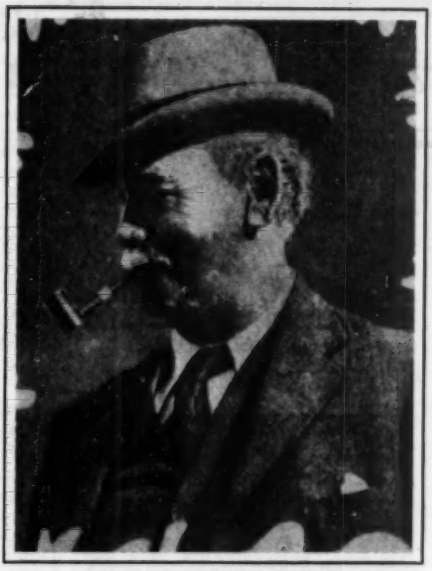
¶ Dr. J. H. Dwelle, President of the Pennsylvania Baptist State Convention, was born in Americus, Georgia, in 1876. He attended the primary and secondary schools of Augusta, Georgia, and afterwards went to the State College of Georgia and Lincoln University where he won the degrees of A. B., A. M. and S. T. B. He was ordained in New York City in 1900. Since then he has held the position of President of the Philadelphia Ministers' Conference and Pittsburgh Conference; Secretary of the Pennsylvania Baptist State Convention for twelve years and Chairman of the Executive Board of the Convention for eight years; and Representative of the Baptists of America in London at the Baptists' World Congress. For ten years he has been pastor of the North Penn Baptist Church, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

¶ Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, President of the National Association of Colored Women and of Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Florida, was one of the guests of honor and a speaker at a luncheon-meeting of the Co-operative Big Brother and Big Sister Organizations of New York, at the Hotel Biltmore, New York City.

¶ The second annual convention of the Federated Colored Catholics of the United States was held in Washington, D. C., December 5 and 6. Father Norman Duckett, the youngest Negro priest in the country, preached the sermon which opened the convention.

¶ Professor Penck, director of the Berlin Geographical Institute, in his attempt to forecast the future distribution and density of mankind, predicts that Africa, now seven per cent of the world's total population, will have twenty-nine per cent in the next three centuries.

¶ In the past year Afrikaans, a Negro-Dutch dialect, has been recognized as a modern language in line with German,



SIR JAMES CARROLL

French and High Dutch by the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, the United Matriculation Board of the Northern Universities of England and similar institutions.

¶ Count Vasco da Gama, direct descendant of the Portuguese navigator, is leading an expedition to Equatorial Africa. Among the places included in the itinerary are Matadi, the French Congo, the Portuguese Colony of Angola, Lake Tchad, the southern part of the British Sudan, Lake Kivu and probably Abyssinia.

¶ November 21 marked the debut of Justin Sandridge of Roxbury, Massachusetts, as a concert pianist. Mr. Sandridge's performance as soloist with the Boston Philharmonic Orchestra was met with enthusiasm and praise from the audience and from musical critics.

¶ The first step in the official procedure of the United States Railway Mediation Board in the case of the Pullman porters was taken in Chicago on December 8, when Mr. A. Philip Randolph, organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and lawyers representing the Brotherhood conferred with Edwin P. Morrow, member of the Board.

¶ Sir James Carroll of New Zealand, is dead. He was born at Naroa, Hawke's Bay, in 1857. He was the son of Joseph Carroll, his mother being Tapuke, a chieftainess of the Ngatikahungunu tribe. He had a varied career which began during his fourteenth year when he volunteered for active service in the Urewera campaign in 1870. Soon afterwards he became a cadet in the office of the Native Commissioner and from this position was transferred to the Native Department. In 1879, Mr. Carroll was appointed as interpreter to the House of Representatives because of his excellent knowledge of English and Maori. Then followed a brilliant political career, during which he held many influential positions, among them being Minister of Native Affairs. After his return from a visit to England, he was knighted by the King.

¶ The Norfolk, Va., Community Service, under the direction of Pierce Thompson, presented the Excelsior Band in the first of a series of monthly concerts. That the concert was a success is evidenced by the fact that the City Auditorium was filled to capacity and that the audience responded to the performance with enthusiasm.

The Looking Glass

JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY wrote:

Dead, my lords and gentlemen!
  Stilled the tongue and stayed the pen;
Cheek unflushed and eye unlit—
  Done with life and glad of it.

Curb your praises now as then—
  Dead, my lords, and gentlemen—
What he wrought found its reward
  In the tolerance of the Lord.

Langston Hughes and Aaron Douglas have had privately printed a folio of drawings and songs which are strikingly beautiful. Knoff will soon publish Langston Hughes second book of poetry "Fine Clothes to the Jew". His first book "The Weary Blues" has passed through three editions.

In Barry Benefield's "Short Turns" (The Century Company) we have a number of striking short stories, of which two "Ole Mistis" and "Simply Sugar Pie" are about Negroes. They are sympathetically done, but, of course, they touch only the lowest of the low.

William English Walling has published "American Labor and American Democracy" in two small volumes issued in The Workers Education Bureau's Series.

The president of the Meharry Medical College, Dr. John J. Mullowney, has published a book on "The Hygiene of the Home and the Responsibility for Sex Education". It is issued by The Christopher Publishing House, Boston.

In Drusilla Dunjee Houston's "Wonderful Ethiopians", published in Oklahoma by The Universal Publishing Company, one finds a great mass of material about Negroes in Ancient History evincing wide reading.

We have also received Clara A. Thompson's "Garland of Poems", S. T. Whitney's "Mellow Musings", and Bishop Thirkie'd's "The English Speaking Peoples".

Kelly Miller says, *"The Negro pays for what he wants and begs for what he needs."*

The following articles in current magazines are of interest to Negroes:

"The Real Negro Problem". Modern Quarterly, September-December, 1926.

"The Crux of the Mission Problem". John La Farge. America, November, 6, 1926.

"The Death Rate Among Negroes". James A. Tobey. Current History, November, 1926.

"Negro Educators for Negro Education". School and Sociology, November 20, 1926.

"The Negro and the Backwardness of the South". Hannibal G. Duncan. Journal of Applied Sociology, November-December, 1926.

"Singing Soldiers". John J. Niles. Scribners, December, 1926.

"The South's Metropolis—The Nation's Gateway". American Review of Reviews, December, 1926.

"The Nicaraguan Farce". Carleton Beals. Nation, December 15, 1926.

"The Negro Ghettos in America". Kelly Miller. Current History, December, 1926.

"The Black Man's Claim for Equality". Hubert Malkus. Success, January, 1927.

THE SPIRITUALS

THERE has been going on in the *Musical Courier* an interesting debate on the Negro spirituals. An anonymous reviewer noting arrangements by William Arms Fisher says:

If we must have Negro spirituals, by all means let us have Fisher to arrange them. He at least makes a musical setting for them. But oh, why must we have any more of the pesky things? They are the most worthless, futile and tiresome of things musical.

Gamewell Valentine of Sumter, South Carolina, after referring to MacCormack, Werrenrath and Kreisler and to the arrangements of Burleigh, Dett and White remarks, "I can't imagine anything more humorous than the reviewer attempting to prove the futility of the spirituals."

Later, the same reviewer intimates that Valentine does not know Fisher's arrangements and adds that he "is unable to see the value of such music. But there are many who think it is the most important output of America and the public seems to be 'sold' to the idea."

Again Mr. Valentine takes up the cudgels:

When the reviewer wrote, "If we must have Negro Spirituals, by all means let us have Fisher to arrange them", he clearly inferred that Fisher was the only arranger, of the many, fit to arrange the spirituals and further, that other arrangers didn't even give them a musical setting. I disprove the inference by citing artists of great eminence who seem to prefer other arrangements of the spirituals to Fisher's, because of the reason that they sing others. This writer is thoroughly acquainted with Mr. Fisher's arrangements of the spirituals and if this does give him the right to criticize them, as the Editor inferred, he will surrender the right (or better, privilege) to the professional reviewers who are paid for expressing their whims and fancies to the public.

Whereupon the reviewer consents to give his reasons for not liking the spirituals. The reasons are that

The great composers and creators of music from Palestrina to Debussy have labored greatly to establish a certain form and content for musical compositions and this reviewer, perhaps very stupidly, holds the opinion that what all those great masters have decided upon as right must be something like right. Spirituals do not conform to that sort of rightness. Spirituals are picturesquely barbaric, but no great composer ever put out over his name anything picturesquely barbaric without developing it into real accepted musical form and content. If they used folk songs they used them sparingly and merely as suggestions and foundations for development.

To this Mr. Valentine replies,

It is obvious that the spirituals do not conform to the classic form of composition, especially on account of their brevity, but they offer in many cases, splendid themes worthy to be developed to a larger degree and length. If they only afforded this, this fact alone would disprove their being futile. Beethoven could take a short theme and the simplest figure and develop it seemingly without end.

I wonder if the *Musical Courier* remembers the Ukrainian Singers and their conductor who on a certain American tour several years ago dug up all the music that he could find of American composers in order to select two numbers for his program? I wonder if the *Musical Courier* remembers the pieces this conductor selected?

"Suwanee River" and "Listen to the Lambs" were those pieces, the latter being a chorale built upon a spiritual and as fine a development of a Negro Spiritual as has been written. These composers are too well known to be named herein. Yet the spirituals are "futile". Are the judgments of McCormack, Kreisler and Werrenrath so fickle as to put futile music on their programs? What did Dvorak see in the spirituals to enjoy them? What his judgment any good?

No American composers have written any greater music than he. Have they? What about our own William Arms Fisher, a worthy pupil and disciple of Dvorak? Would he waste his time over futile music?

There are many bad spirituals and contrari-wise many good ones. The good spirituals are absolutely serious and were intended to be so. Nothing is more obnoxious to an audience who understands the spirituals than for a singer to sing them in 'costume'. To singers who wish to sing spirituals in costume, I suggest that they allow their feet to be chained and hard lashes administered to the bare back with leather made of cow's hide while singing. This is the costume that the Negro wore at the time the spirituals were created and it will assist the singer to get into the mood of the song.

Too many of our American composers are overflowing with form and technic. First, a composer should have something to express. A good thought poorly expressed is still a good thought, but the employment of fine English, German, or any language to express nothing is of no avail.

ASIA AND AFRICA

THE Pan-Asiatic Congress held at Nagasaki, Japan, last August was attended by fifty delegates from China, Japan, India and the Philippines. Five directors of a new League of Asiatic Nations were elected and the next congress is to be held at Peking. One of the Chinese delegates proposed that the league should assist India and the Philippines to regain their independence. The following statement was issued:

Our ultimate ideal as human beings is to make sure that all the races in the world must have the right to exist and share a common prosperity.

Such a grand ideal, in our opinion, can only be realized by beginning the gradual working out of the great principle with our neighbors. We cannot expect a world-wide friendship until the time when neighboring nations have been found helping one another on the principle of mutual existence and common prosperity of all. With this object in view we are calling a conference of all Asiatic races.

It is, moreover, our desire to see the renaissance of the glorious Asiatic civilization of four thousand years ago affected by the co-operation of all Asiatic races, as a prelude to the establishment of world peace based on the principle of equality and justice to all, irrespective of caste, creed, color and religion.

Charles R. Buxton, of the well-known English family, writes in a recent pamphlet from Africa:

The true policy is to devise a general Code of Native Rights. Such a Code was demanded by the Pan-African Congress in

1920—the first organized attempt to place the black man's point of view, as such, before the public opinion of the world. In the elaboration of this Code of Native Rights, the British Empire ought to play a leading part. While we must beware of national self-righteousness, the besetting sin of the Englishman, it would be equally wrong to ignore the fact that our fellow-countrymen, when all the pros and cons have been weighed up, have a better record than other people who have attempted the government of native races. Our experience, taken as a whole, has been longer and it has been very much more varied. Moreover, ever since the middle of the 18th Century, we have had a section of public opinion at home which has resolutely refused to allow the government of native races to be determined by the "man on the spot". The "Pro-Consul" (much to his disgust) has never been allowed an entirely free hand for many years together. "Exeter Hall", that bugbear of the Empire-builder and the commercial exploiter, has never been entirely silent.

The correspondents of the Copenhagen, Denmark, *Politiken* reports Roland Hayes as saying in an interview:

You ask me whether I am religious; I am. But I am not orthodox. I believe that I am a tool in God's hand, that He is using me to accomplish a piece of work, work for my race. And not alone for my race, but for all humanity. We are all made in the image of God, we all have the same Divine spark, whether our skin is white or black or yellow or brown. I want to show that with my singing. And I think myself fortunate, when I feel that people understand for what I am striving. Only by keeping my purpose firmly before me, only by feeling that I am the instrument of a great idea, shall I be able to give real art, that art that goes to people's hearts, that leads to my life's goal: the end of race hatred with no difference because of the color of the skin, Peace and Brotherhood all over the world.

THE BLOODY BLOT

WE quote from the Tampa, Florida, morning *Tribune* of December 7, an editorial which deserves to be kept as a historic document to illustrate Southern lynching: It is entitled "The Bloody Blot Remains":

An innocent Negro was brutally murdered by a mob at LaBelle. He had committed no offense. The victim was beaten, stabbed, shot, mutilated, before being hanged. All this was in broad daylight. It was a "public demonstration". There was practically no effort at concealment of identity on the part of members of the mob. The horrible affair was witnessed by almost the entire populace. Scores of citizens looked on and easily recognized fellow-citizens they had known for years. There was no interference by officers of the law. It was the most barbarous lynching perpetrated in years—and without the provocation of even an attempt at misdoing by the helpless object of its brutality.

A few officials and fearless citizens of the county demanded an investigation and were active in bringing it about. A coroner's inquest was held. Many of the eye witnesses were examined. The result of the inquest was the finding of the jury that 17 men be held for murder. Later, the Circuit Court released nine of these men and ordered eight of them held for further investigation under bail of $10,000 each.

Owing to the state of the public mind in LaBelle, a change of venue was ordered in the case and the Grand Jury of Lee, an adjoining county, was empowered to investigate. This Grand Jury convened last week and spent several days in the investigation. Witnesses who had testified at the coroner's inquest and whose testimony resulted in the accusation of 17 men as members of the mob also testified before the Grand Jury. But something had happened to these witnesses in the interim. Their memories evidently proved defective. What they knew clearly at the inquest, they had "forgotten" before the Grand Jury. The Grand Jury, in its report, says these witnesses testified with "seeming great reluctance". They seemed "afraid to give direct testimony". Men who had looked on, in the clear light of day, while the crime was being perpetrated and who identified some of the perpetrators, could not "remember" a few months later. Another peculiar discrepancy developed. The transcript of testimony taken at the inquest was not available for use in the examination of these same witnesses before the Grand Jury. This was a very essential document and its absence naturally seriously handicapped the proceedings of the Grand Jury. We do not know what became of this transcript. It appears that it should have been the subject of inquiry—that someone should be held to account for the failure to produce it.

The Grand Jury, unable to obtain sufficient evidence upon which to indict one or two or a dozen of the lynchers, made the Sheriff of Hendry County the "goat". We do not question the Grand Jury's charge that the Sheriff proved recreant to his duty in the case; we do not doubt that his delinquency was sufficient to warrant the Governor in removing him from office. But the removal of the Sheriff is a matter of small consequence compared with the punishment of the murderers. The Sheriff, at the most, was guilty only of neglect of duty or of avoidance of duty; his hands are not red with the life-blood of Henry Patterson.

The few officers and citizens of LaBelle who have been active in pushing this investigation to the end that justice may be done will, it is reported, ask the Governor to designate a judge and a prosecuting attorney from another part of the state to carry the case further; but we doubt that this would have any good effect. With the

witnesses silenced, by intimidation or otherwise, another Grand Jury could do no more than the present one has been able to do. Those timid citizens of LaBelle who showed "great reluctance" and who seemed "afraid to give direct testimony" must share with the members of the mob the onus of this regrettable tragedy, which has smirched the name of Hendry County and of the entire state.

A community cannot vindicate itself before the world, cannot clear itself of the responsibility and the disgrace of outbreaks like this, when its own citizens, knowing the truth, are too cowardly to tell it in court.

We had hoped for better results in this LaBelle case. We had hoped that Florida might furnish an example, like that recently given in Georgia, refuting the charge that Southern communities are in sympathy with mob law. But we must dismiss the hope as vain. The LaBelle horror must remain a bloody blot on the name of the state, imposed in the first place by a lawless mob and accentuated by the abject failure to bring the members of that mob to the bar of justice.

STUDENT FINDINGS

AN International Student Conference met in Baltimore last November with 125 delegates representing thirty races and nations. There were black men from Africa, South America and the Indies, as well as colored Americans.

We print extracts from the report of the Findings Committee:

Our present comparative evaluation of races is relative and has only recently been developed. There is no evidence that our present popular conception had any place in thought during the historical times in which the books of the Bible were written, nor at the later time of Marco Polo, who went to Asia and looked up to the advanced culture of the East and was impressed by the wealth he found.

Biologically, there are evident differences between the races. We think of skin, color, skull formation, texture of skin and hair and so on. And yet, we know that none of these factors of human biology—be it anatomy or physiology—proves that the capacity for culture and intelligence would inhere in one race more than in another. Between individuals, there frequently are more pronounced differences than between races. The importance of the biological differences lies in its evidence, in its psychological influence. It brings to mind, it fixes and nurses the already conceived trend of thoughts.

The general race feeling has a strong hold in tradition and is propagated by privileged and wrongly informed circles. Inaccurate knowledge, indifference, misrepresentation of the activities of another race, maintain public and personal opinion. Important factors lie in the failure to appreciate the ability and aspiration of other races. . . .

Economic factors have important influence on interracial feeling. The white race holds the industrial and economic power of the world, causing an aggressive attitude on the part of the white race, an attitude which is responsible for a deepening of the feeling of unfriendliness among the races. We have all lived to see an employer, shielded by public opinion, keeping the wages of one race lower than that of another. Why is America so interested in the Philippines? Why England in India? World powers are always more interested in protecting and caring for other races, for other states, if economic advantages are present or can be expected.

Where is the solution? Economic exploitation of one race by another should be stopped and each race, as well as nation, left to solve their own economic problem. Co-operation and no exploitation should be the interracial and international economic policy. . . .

Religious expansion frequently means the meeting of two different races and thus becomes an important factor in interracial relationship. The missionary brings his message disinterestedly, altruistically, in the ideal case. He serves Christ and humanity. Unfortunately, he often misses his mission and makes interracial relationships more unfriendly by intellectual snobbishness, by a superiority feeling, as religious teacher. This unfriendliness is sharpened by the granting of extraterritorial rights and by his interference in politics. Lack of respect of the missionary for the institutions and practices of the country in which he works and the forceful imposing of western social and religious customs on eastern people, make the problem even more severe. . . .

There are many conflicting opinions concerning the desirability of interracial marriages. Difficulties involved in interracial marriages and our present customs and traditions concerning this, lack of sufficient scientific data on the results of intermarriage and fear of the loss of social integrity and public opinion. Present laws in the United States against interracial marriages —which exist in twenty-four states—make possible the violation of Negro womanhood, with no protection by the possibility of marriage. They also would tend to promote promiscuity by contrary suggestion. Tendencies to intermarry on the part of either race are greatly over-emphasized, we believe, numerous instances of interracial friendship with no thought of intermarriage being cited. We believe there should be freedom o. personal choice in the matter of interracial marriages, unhampered by artificial social stigmata, accompanied by a full present day knowledge of the responsibilities and possible results of intermarriage. We think there should be more research on the question and more honest, fearless thought.

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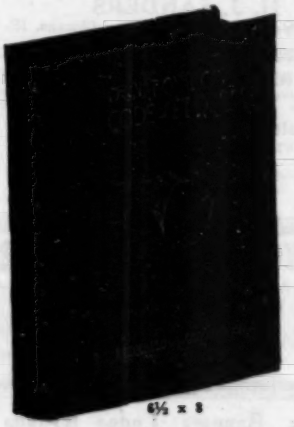

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